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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 213



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CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Ninth Polish Party Congress Discussed (Fang Xuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Jul 81)	1
Review of Recent Chinese Biography of Kissinger (Zhang Jialin; DUSHU, 10 Jul 81)	4

PARTY AND STATE

Importance of National Self-Respect Emphasized (Qi Ping; Xie Hung'en; SICHUAN RIBAO, 25 Jun 81)	8
Model Behavior by Communist Party Members Urged (Liang Lingguang; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 27 Jun 81)	11
Four Principles Reflect Socialist Spiritual Civilization (Chu Xu; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 17 Jan 81)	16
'Highly Developed Socialist Democracy' Defined (Su Shaozhi; RENMIN RIBAO, 21 Jul 81)	19
Importance of Sixth Plenum Resolution for Social Sciences (Yu Guangyuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 19 Jul 81)	22
Sichuan Government Emphasizes Spirit of Sixth Plenum (Ai Feng; SICHUAN RIBAO, 4 Jul 81)	25
Country's Socialist Future Viewed as Historically Inevitable (Deng Liqun; XIN SHIQI, Jun 81)	27
Upholding Mass Line in Spirit of Party Resolution Urged (Shou Chun; XINHUA RIBAO, 7 Jul 81)	33

Bribery, Extortion in Business, Government Reported (RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Jul 81)	36
Local Party Leader Dismissed on Charge Abusing Power (RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Jul 81)	39
Hubei Party Organs Strengthen Leadership Over CYL (HUBEI RIBAO, 24 Jun 81)	41
Rectification of Miscomprehension of Mao Thought Urged (ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 13 Jul 81)	43
Party School in Guangdong Studies Resolution on Mao (Li Ruqing; NANFANG RIBAO, 15 Jul 81)	46
'Science and Superstition' Articles on Ideological Struggles (He Xin; DUCHU, 10 May 81)	48
Life of First Envoy to Foreign Countries Recounted (Wang Sizhi; RENMIN RIBAO, 13 Jul 81)	53

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Conditions of Education in Yunnan Reported (Jiang Quan; YUNNAN RIBAO, 16 Jun 81)	57
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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Bai Hua Incident Discussed (Cai Xin; CHENG MING, 1 Jul 81)	65
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NINTH POLISH PARTY CONGRESS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 81 p 7

[Article by Fang Xuan [2455 5503]: "The Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party Concluded Smoothly"]

[Text] The special Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, which the whole world watched intently, was concluded on 20 July.

This congress summarized the events that have taken place since the eighth Polish party congress in February of last year. In his report, party First Secretary Kania indicated that the major reasons behind the present Polish economic and social crisis were "the tremendous development of productive capacity, in conjunction with an inflexible system of national economic management leadership and all the contradictions in social life" during the seventies, "the numerous mistaken proposals" in economic and social policy during that time, and the "undemocratic functioning at times" of the party--primarily the party Central Committee. Moreover, he again emphasized that the Polish party members would continue unfalteringly to carry out the line of reform and negotiation, and would be resolute in overcoming the crisis by themselves.

Ninety percent of the 1,964 representatives at the congress, who represented some 3 million party members, were new. The congress expelled the former party Central Committee first secretary, Gierek, and others of the party membership, and adopted the method of direct election by secret ballot of the new Central Committee. Eighty-nine percent of the original Central Committee members and alternate members failed to be reelected. Among the members and alternate members of the original Politburo, only Kania, Jaruzelski, Barcikowski, and Olszowski were reelected. The remaining 11 were not. Kania was again elected to the post of party first secretary. A congress spokesman said that the results of this election manifested the representatives' desire "to place persons who will resolutely carry out and support socialist reforms in the organ of central leadership." After being elected, Kania stated that he would not prove unworthy of the representatives' trust, and would "deviate to neither left nor right, but would move forward along the path of socialist reform."

The Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party was held in the face of various pressures and contradictions coming from both inside and outside the state and the party.

On the eve of the congress, the Soviet Union placed tremendous pressure on Poland. In addition to carrying out military deployments and maneuvers both within Poland and in surrounding areas, on 5 June the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party dispatched a letter to the Central Committee of the Polish party issuing an ultimatum and declaring that the Polish situation "already threatened the interests of the entire socialist family," as well as "our common security." It charged that Kania and Jaruzelski had done nothing to change "yielding and compromising policies" and that "position after position had been given up." The letter demanded that the Polish party "return the situation to the proper course before the ninth congress of the Polish party." During the discussion of this letter at the 11th Plenum of the Eighth Polish Party Central Committee, the overwhelming majority of the Central Committee members expressed support for Kania and Jaruzelski. In this situation, the Soviet Union had to declare that its letter "was not criticizing the reformist line" and that it "supported the Polish party" leadership. After doing so, the Soviets decided to send Gromyko to visit Poland and to continue to put pressure on Poland through their press propaganda. At the special session of the ninth congress, the head of the Soviet delegation, Grishin, declared again that the Soviets "cannot be unconcerned" about the fate of Poland.

Inside Poland, the economic situation is undergoing precipitous changes. The people lack the necessities of life. The amount of foreign debt is staggering. Production is down. The society is in turmoil. Spontaneous strikes are a constant occurrence. The people are demanding an early end to the crisis. The cries for reform grow stronger day by day.

There is a critical struggle going on within the Polish United Workers Party. One faction of the party leadership, represented by Kania, supports a line of negotiation and reform, with an emphasis on the Polish people solving their problems themselves. Another faction opposes the reformist line. They receive the support and encouragement of the Soviet Union. The Soviets call them a "healthy force," and accuse the reformist faction of being "revisionist" and "opportunist." Soviet interference complicates and intensifies the struggle within the Polish party. On the eve of the ninth congress, the struggle was manifested in the election of representatives to the congress. Having gone through heated debate in which various views were aired in various "public forums," the absolute majority of the ninth party congress representatives selected by the party organizations of the provinces, cities and other areas supported the line of negotiation and reform.

Within the Solidarity union, arguments that the interests of the people are paramount and calls for avoiding giving the Soviets an excuse to intervene are more and more being accepted by the broad masses. Walesa, the leader of "Solidarity," called on the union members to understand "the geographic position that Poland occupies," and the "political consequences" that extreme actions could produce. "Solidarity" has expressed firm disapproval of provocative behavior such as the smearing of the Soviet military memorial. This sort of attitude on the part of "Solidarity" of attaching great importance to the overall situation created a beneficial atmosphere within the country for the holding of the special ninth Polish party congress.

The ninth congress of the Polish party overcame numerous difficulties and concluded smoothly. The congress adopted plans to establish a program for overcoming the crisis and for economic reform, as well as a series of important resolutions concerning a new party constitution and petitions of the Polish people. But with the Soviet threat and the serious economic situation within the country, the Polish United Workers Party still faces severe tests.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REVIEW OF RECENT CHINESE BIOGRAPHY OF KISSINGER

Beijing DUSHU [READING] in Chinese No 7, 10 Jul 81 p 11-15

[Review by Zhang Jialin [4545 0857 3829]: "A Valuable Effort: Comments on 'A Critical Biography of Kissinger'"]

[Text] Chen Youwei's [7115 2589 3634] book "JIXINGE PINGZHUAN--A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF HENRY KISSINGER" is a very special piece of biographical writing.

For some unknown reason, in China works on living famous people are as rare as unicorn horns, and biographies of living foreign politicians are even more rare. Can it be that a coffin lid must close on a person before a discussion can take place? Can it be that we cannot use a Marxist point of view to provide Chinese readers with a glimpse of influential foreigners? On this point alone the book is quite valuable. It fills a long-felt void in Chinese biographical works and has caught the interest of a broad range of readers.

In the history of western foreign relations, it would be quite difficult to find another diplomat with such an air of intrigue and who also elicits so much interest and debate. It is not easy to evaluate such a complex person. In writing this book about Kissinger and the related historical events the author carried out extensive research of foreign affairs, picked over a great mass of confused, repetitious materials, discarding the useless and keeping the essentials, eliminating the errors and choosing the best, and used a dialectical method to make an analysis. His deft literary style then constructed a lush, full-blown portrait of this colorful figure in American foreign relations in the 1970s. From 1969 to 1977, Kissinger wielded great power in foreign relations in the cabinets of presidents Nixon and Ford. For the American ruling group to use this Jewish scholar, as the author describes it, "clearly describes their feeling over the continual erosion of American power, and their hope that the skills of a few politicians could augment the lack of actual strength and thus keep from being overthrown by the raging storm." Even though Kissinger used his intelligence and resourcefulness and performed act upon act of eye-catching drama both in America and world-wide, nonetheless he finally was unable to overturn the laws of historical development and was unable to halt the erosion of American hegemony. This is the basic premise of the author's critical biography.

The special features of Kissinger's personality are sharply portrayed in this biography, mainly, I believe, because the author was able to operate within the context of the actual social life in a fixed historical period. It shows the relationships between various American factions as well as the complex relations between America and other nations. The book moreover places Kissinger in the context of this special historical background and describes him within this temporary framework. Engels has pointed out that, "The main characters represent a certain class and certain tendencies, and consequently are the representatives of the ideology of their times. Their motivations are not made up from the fragmentary hopes and desires of individuals but are derived from the historical trends within which they exist." The period in which Kissinger was in office was the period in which America was losing the Indo-China war, when the national economy was suffering from "stagflation" and when the state of the nation was worsening day by day. Under such conditions, the American ruling group, in seeking to halt the advance of Soviet imperialism and protect its own bases, found it necessary to absorb some new views and positions to replace its outmoded, defunct foreign policy. Kissinger, as a strategist for this group, naturally was affected by numerous political and historical phenomenon and naturally became "the representative of a certain ideology of his times." When introducing Kissinger's thought and views, the author placed the development of his political thought into two periods: One was from 1957 to the early 60s, when, in response to the American defeat in the Korean War and the bankruptcy of the "strategy of large-scale retaliation," Kissinger advocated "limited war" and the strengthening of conventional military forces, which caught the attention of the Kennedy administration. The second period was from the latter 1960s to the early 1970s, when Kissinger suggested the policy of "balance" as the main feature of a "peaceful order." From this we can see how the author has deeply investigated and understood Kissinger's major writings, how he has organized and incorporated their main points and revealed their true meaning to show the main features of Kissinger's foreign policy.

The author has made a penetrating theoretical analysis of Kissinger's "philosophy of foreign relations," and I feel that this is the book's outstanding feature. Kissinger was a "newsworthy person" for a period of time and people are relatively aware of his main activities in foreign relations, but lacked systematic information on the theory and origin of his policies. Therefore, the author placed emphasis on the former. It is worthy of note that while reading this biography I was not at all bored. The author is quite well informed about world history and uses a vivid literary style to introduce such German thinkers as Spengler, Nietzsche and Hegel and the 19th century western political figures Metternich, Bismark and [Kaersilei] and their roles in the formation of Kissinger's world view and "philosophy of foreign relations" as well as the influence of such ideology and views held by Kissinger on American foreign policy and military policy of that period. Therefore, I believe that this book is both the biography of a person and an encapsulation of American foreign policy in the 1970s. Through this prismatic view of Kissinger the author has to a certain degree reflected a trend in American foreign policy.

According to the author's view, the main feature of Kissinger's "philosophy of foreign relations" is the theory of "balance" and its source is found in the idea of "balance of power" espoused by the 19th century Austrian foreign affairs official Metternich. As advisor to a political group, few of who were of any particular intellectual abilities, Kissinger was relatively capable of ascertaining that in the early 1970s the shape of the world and America's place in it were undergoing great changes. The changes were that from the "two poles" of Russia and America in the 1950s there developed the "five centers of power" America, Russia, Japan, Western Europe and China. The scope of effective American power was greatly reduced and she could not depend on her "superior" force to impose on others. The author believes that Kissinger advocated "temporarily reducing their positions, forming some relationships, taking advantage of certain contradictions, creating a favorable state of "balance" and concentrating the major forces to confront the major enemy" in order to gain and preserve their own status of hegemony. The author moreover reveals to us the application and expression of the foreign policy of "balance" in the policies and strategies advocated by Kissinger while he was in office. This point alone gives us the key to understanding American foreign policy ever since that period. For example, the Nixon administration used Kissinger's theories of "balance" and "many power centers" to further the "Nixon doctrine" of "force," "discussions" and "forming relationships." From this point America then adopted the policy of "detente" toward the Soviet Union and planned to use a ring of alliances to "put a halter on the Soviet Union" and reduce the danger of war between America and Russia. After Carter took power in 1977 he continued the Nixon and Ford policies toward the Soviet Union, even though there were differences in manner, method and emphasis. In the 1980 elections, Kissinger, as Reagan's advisor on foreign policy, continued to push for a policy of "balance." In his view, in recent years the "balance" between America and the Soviet Union had been destroyed and America had to strengthen military expenditures, strengthen national defense and "restore the balance of power." It appears that if America's economic and military strength continue to decline the American ruling group can only continue to follow the principle of "balance" in its strategic planning in the hope of protecting its domestic and foreign interests.

Of course, both the policy of "balance" and the policy of "detente" were hopes fashioned in accordance with American politics. The author believes that in terms of present world realities there can be no "balance" between America and Russia. World conditions today are basically different from those of Metternich's times and any policy which seeks to expand political power through the sacrifice of the interests of countries of whatever size is bound to fail. During the Nixon administration, for a variety of reasons, American-Soviet relations were placed in a premier position, which was unsatisfactory to the west European and Japanese allies and in reality no "balance" ever developed. During the Ford administration more and more Americans saw that the United States had been losing out to the Soviet Union for several years and criticized "detente" as a one-way street in favor of the Russians. This period of history ought to be a mirror for the present-day fashioners of American foreign policy.

This biography gives a lively description of Kissinger's style and personality. Kissinger lived in a time of great international upheaval, and both his origins and experiences and America's conditions at that time determined the depth and complexity of his personality. The author had deeply entered into the inside of Kissinger's mind and shown how his style and personality differ from that of other American foreign relations experts. For example, Kissinger's mind is full of stratagems, the result of his many years of hard study. Kissinger enjoyed studying history so he had a broader perspective than other people on world affairs and moreover used this to consider America's strategic problems. He was unwilling to change his own views and opinions to suit the ideas of those in power. While in office he undertook reforms of the National Security Council and the State Department in order to concentrate power and promote efficiency in response to the needs of an ever more tense and complex international situation. Kissinger's creative spirit gave a new look to the structure of America's foreign policy, which had followed a conservative road for such a long time. At the same time, the author points out, Kissinger was both conceited and highly ambitious. He carried on single-handed, highly secret foreign relations, placing trust in no one and was over-confident of his capability to handle the situations around him. The author believes that this resulted from the intellectual influences of Spengler and Nietzsche and the rest on young Kissinger and that he then wished to become a "history-maker." The author makes an organic connection between Kissinger's early experiences and bureaucratic connections and the development of his thought and personality to clearly show the reader that even if Kissinger possessed superior intellect and strategies he nonetheless was unable to change the overall direction of historical developments. International conditions undergo great upheavals and the worsening conditions of America's real position cannot be altered by human will nor can such problems be solved by the stratagems of any person.

One fault of the book is that when the author describes certain changes in Kissinger's post-government service thinking on major international questions he does not describe the causes for these changes. According to an analysis of much foreign material, in the past the Rockefeller financial group was in favor of "detente" and "cooperation" with the Soviet Union; but in recent years this attitude has undergone obvious changes. This is because of Soviet expansion southward, gradually encroaching upon and threatening the foreign interests of this financial group, especially in the Mideast and northern Africa oil regions. Therefore, the views on this financial group toward Russia also hardened. These developments are surely not unrelated to the changes in Kissinger's attitude toward the Soviet Union.

In summation, the author strives to use Marxist historical materialism and dialectical materialism to describe his research on a major foreign political figure, and this is worthy of our perusal.

("A Critical Biography of Kissinger" by Chen Youwei, Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe, August 1980, .67 yuan)

11582

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PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL SELF-RESPECT EMPHASIZED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jun 81 p 2

[Article by Qi Ping [7871 1427] and Xie Hung'en [6200 3163 1869]: "Strengthen National Self-Respect; Construct the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Our Chinese nation is one of the great nations among the world's ancient civilizations. In the course of its development, it has encountered many difficulties and complications and undergone countless domestic troubles and foreign invasions. Particularly for a hundred years or so in modern times, China was reduced to a semifeudal, semicolonial society because of the aggression of imperialism and the betrayal and surrender by the feudal ruling class and the bureaucratic capitalist class. The Chinese people were subjected to the oppression and exploitation of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratism. In order to save the motherland and promote the nation, our people carried out a prolonged and valiant struggle against domestic and foreign enemies. Countless moving heroic figures emerged, demonstrating the heroic spirit.

In the prolonged period of arduous struggle the Chinese people diligently learned everything that was advanced, and through untold hardships they sought the truth to try to save their country and people. They used every weapon and tried every plan, but nothing worked and all failed. Why? What could save China? The advanced people in China continued the search. The gunfire of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China. The vanguard of the Chinese working class armed with Marxism-Leninism--the Chinese Communist Party--was born. In the course of leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country in their revolutionary struggle, it combined the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, giving rise to Mao Zedong Thought. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and through a prolonged and ardously bloody struggle, the Chinese people finally toppled the three big mountains that weighed on their heads and established the first state ruled by the people in the history of our country--the People's Republic of China.

The establishment of new China was the most important turn in the history of our country. It freed itself from the tragic semifeudal, semicolonial condition in which everything was at the mercy of others! Once again the Chinese nation lifted its head and stood up straight, feeling proud and elated! At the same time, because of the establishment of state power and the socialist system of the people's democratic dictatorship, and because the whole people learned, worked,

labored, and fought with the patriotic zeal and national pride, our country developed speedily and made progress such as had never been seen in old China. History has proved that only Marxism-Leninism and socialism can save China. Armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese Communist Party is the mainstay and nucleus of the Chinese people. Without the Chinese Communist Party there will be no new, socialist China or revival of the Chinese nation. This is the verdict of history.

Of course, the task is extremely formidable and difficulties cannot help but be numerous when building socialism in a country such as ours, which has a large population and a poor foundation to start with. At the same time, because there were faults in our work for many years, particularly the destruction on the part of the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our national economy suffered serious setbacks. That is why, up to now, our country is still relatively poor and the living standards of the people are still relatively low.

Confronted with these circumstances, what kind of attitude should we adopt? All patriots who have national self-respect should be guided by the party and make their greatest effort to change the backward appearance with their own hands. Many comrades are doing just that. With the attitude of being the masters, they go all out to make the country strong, work hard, fight tenaciously, and build an enterprise through arduous effort. Quite a few among them have become shock workers of the new long march, 8 March Red Flag standard-bearers, and advanced exemplary figures in all trades and professions who are good models for the whole people to learn from. However, there is also the type of people who have a sense of national inferiority. Seeing that our economic capacity cannot catch up with that of certain capitalist countries in the West for the moment, they believe that nothing in their own country and nation works, while everything in capitalist countries is good. They blindly worship the West and hold a low opinion of their own country and nation. Some even lose their personal and national character, the minimum mentality of patriotism and national self-respect. Yet it is necessary to have national self-respect in any nation that desires to survive and grow. We Chinese people have always disdained subservience and lack of national integrity. For this reason, although our country is still relatively poor, we will never lose our noble character, morals, and sentiments. All of us should devote ourselves to the motherland and to the practical actions of the four modernizations, and should strive to turn the motherland from poverty into wealth. A scientist who returned to the motherland has put it well: "Although the motherland is poor, she nevertheless is my mother." This fully expresses the utter innocence of the ardent love that a Chinese has for the motherland. If a Chinese uses poverty as the reason for disdaining his motherland and nation, how can he deserve to be called a descendant of Huangdi or a son or daughter of new China? Man needs to have spirit. An ardent love for one's own motherland is the minimum spirit a person should have.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "We must make all young people understand that our country is still very poor, and that it is not possible to basically alter this state of affairs within a short period of time. It all depends on the youths and all the people for several decades to unite and struggle and create a strong and wealthy country with their own hands. The establishment of the socialist

system has opened the path to the ideal realm for us, and its realization still depends on our hard work. Some youths think that everything should be fine when a socialist society is attained, and that they can enjoy a readymade happy life without doing anything. This is a very unrealistic way of thinking." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 5, p 386) As we reread this passage today, we feel that it contains practical significance which is particularly important. It is true that beautiful flowers are watered with sweat and that a happy life is created by labor. All young people with a will and all people who ardently love their motherland should rouse their national spirit and increase their national self-respect. They should work hard for the prosperity of the socialist motherland and labor with their own hands to create a glorious future. Any self-degradation, pessimism, or lack of confidence in the future of the motherland is entirely groundless.

Naturally, emphasis on national self-respect is not advocacy of parochial arrogance, national peculiarities, or narrow nationalism. Each country and nation in the world has its own strongpoints. We must learn the strongpoints of all countries and nations--particularly their advanced science and technology. There should be no doubt about this. However, in learning any experience of other countries, we must combine it with our own national circumstances and learn it analytically and selectively, but never copy it blindly. We must continue to develop friendly relations with the people of all countries of the world and never again close the door. However, we must never underestimate our own capabilities or feel inferior or inadequate in international relations. It must be noted in particular that following the open-door policy of our country, international relations have expanded daily, and this unavoidably brings in influences of an unhealthy mentality. Under these circumstances, some young people who lack both experience in life and the ability to make distinctions and to resist are often easily misled by the "dazzling human world with its myriad temptations," reducing and even losing their national self-respect. This is a problem that must arouse our attention.

Our youths today are the shock workers of the four modernizations, the successors of the socialist undertaking, and the future and hope of the Chinese nation. To shoulder this arduous historical task, they must try hard to learn from the high qualities and patriotic spirit of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries who ardently love the state and party, devote themselves to national liberation and communism, and treat the responsibility of the world as their own. They must strengthen their national self-respect, be self-conscious vanguards for the building of socialist material and spiritual culture, and contribute to the construction of the four modernizations for the motherland.

9586

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PARTY AND STATE

MODEL BEHAVIOR BY COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS URGED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 81 p 1

[Article by Liang Lingguang [2733 7227 0342]: "Communist Party Members in Guangdong Urged To Set Examples for Four Modernizations"]

[Text] As we now commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party we look back over the party's magnificent process of glorious struggle and look to the grand future of building the four modernizations we are filled with boundless pride and confidence. We feel even greater love for the party and cherish even more the memories of Comrade Mao Zedong, the other members of the older generation of revolutionaries and the countless revolutionary martyrs.

The party is a great Marxist political party and is the central force which leads in revolutionary matters. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding ideology which leads our victorious march ahead. "Only socialism is capable of saving China." Without the communist party there would be no New China and without the communist party there would be no modernized, socialist China. This is an historical imperative.

Guangdong and Canton are important bases in the party's revolutionary life. Such important events as the Great Port Strike, the Hailufeng [3189 7120 6265] Peasant Uprising, the Canton Uprising and the Third Party Congress all took place here. Many of our party leaders such as Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu and Peng Pai all carried on revolutionary work here. During the years of revolutionary struggle, from the Wuling mountain peaks to the Wuzhi foothills, from the Chaoshan plains to the Nanlu mountains, the broad communist party membership and the broad revolutionary people followed party leadership in bravely upholding the armed struggle and the underground struggle to create laudable heroic achievements. The history of the Guangdong local party forms a page in the glorious history of the party. This all establishes a shining example for us, forms a strong basis for work in Guangdong and Canton and encourages us to grasp the four basic principles in order to complete our new historical mission.

We have now entered a new historical period and are facing a glorious but difficult historical task. The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress clearly indicated that the entire party's work focus should shift to construction of the four modernizations. This is a great historical turning point. Last year the Party Central Committee decided that Guangdong and Fujian would carry out special policies and lively actions and have experimental economic zones in order to find new paths of development for the nation's economic system. The party organizations and broad party membership of Guangdong and Canton must carry on and must give vent to the party's glorious traditions, make progress in strengthening and improving party leadership, give full vent to developing the use of progressive party workers as models during the four modernizations and complete this task which history has bestowed upon us.

Many matters must be attended to in giving play to the use of model party members, so which aspects should we now emphasize?

The first is to liberate our thinking and be realistic.

To liberate our thinking and be realistic is our party's ideological line of dialectical materialism and is the core of the Third Plenum's line. Marxism is a product of ideological liberation. In the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels said, "A socialist revolution carries out the most abrupt break from the traditional system of ownership relations. It is not at all strange that in its own process of development it made a sharp break from traditional concepts." We are now implementing the four modernizations, carrying out special policies, lively actions and experimental districts. These will encounter many new contradictions and new problems, but in order to smash the bonds of many years of an irrational economic system we must have even greater ideological liberation, braver practice and we must dare to be more creative. Ideological liberation and being realistic are consistent. The Third Plenum did not suggest the slogan of ideological liberation alone but linked it with being realistic and with the theory that practice is the only true standard of measurement for truth. This is clearly distinct from the "left" ideology, "do not fear the inability to accomplish something, only fear not thinking of it." Ideological liberation is the foundation for grasping the four basic principles. This also demarcated a clear distinction from those chaotic, bourgeois freedoms which depart from party leadership, Mao Zedong Thought and the socialist road. To be a socialist, one must clearly recognize one's own old thinking and narrow concepts, including various "left" and right influences, so that one's own thinking can continually respond with new forms and keep up with the march of time. On the other hand, we must also follow the compass needle of the four basic principles to clear away ideological obstacles and become promoters of socialist modernization. In regard to economic adjustments and reforms, we must have a great sense of responsibility and urgency, hold to an unswerving course, dare to experiment, be positive in our actions and hold a steady pace. In this way we can forge a new path of economic development.

The second is to strengthen theoretical studies and emphasize investigation and research.

All correct policies of the proletarian party cannot be separated from the guiding principles of Marxism. Only if the theories are correct can the actions be correct. The Third Plenum line is the product of the true principles of Marxism combined with our concrete experiences in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Unless one comprehends Marxism one cannot even think of truly understanding and thoroughly implementing it.

The four modernizations and the special zones are new matters and many new conditions and new questions require a theoretical approach for solutions plus explaining and promoting them. During the ten years of chaos many basic principles of Marxism were criticized as revisionist, for example, criticizing the socialist principle of to each according to his labor as "material incentives;" criticizing the necessary importing of foreign advanced technology as "a slavish compradore mentality," and so on. If such things are not thoroughly removed from the principles there will be no unification of ideology and we will not be able to correctly and bravely carry out the four modernizations and operate the special zones. Of course, there must be a close connection between theory and practice, and this requires great effort in conducting research. Research involves a process, a process of long and difficult effort, and requires a stubborn revolutionary ardor. Party leadership cadres on all levels ought to strive to attain this, to achieve a close unity of the party line, direction and policy with the concrete practices in their districts, departments and units and use thoroughgoing plans and concrete methods which are in accord with reality. We must oppose the tendency toward bookishness, incorporation of undigested facts, mere copying and transmitting of information and imitation of others, and must oppose the spirit of not reading books or newspapers and merely working hard at studying upper level directives, and acting according to one's own limited personal experiences and making subjective decisions. All communist party members, especially leadership party members must strive to train themselves to become a proletarian vanguard with a certain level of cultivation in Marxist theory, be able to deeply understand the spirit of the line and policy of the Party Central Committee, be skilled at establishing links with reality, be proficient in his profession and consciously struggle to implement the party line.

The third is to engage in bitter struggle and be self-reliant.

Bitter struggle and self-reliance are in the grand traditions of our party and are a class quality of communist party members. We are now carrying out the four modernizations and must build the country into a powerful socialist nation with a high level of material and spiritual civilization. China has a huge population and a thin base, a low level of production forces and a population of one billion people, 800 million of whom are peasants. The destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wrought havoc with the national

economy. Because of this, implementation of the four modernizations is an extremely difficult task. This requires even more that we give vent to the spirit of bitter struggle and self-reliance and regain the energies and hell-bent spirit we had during the revolutionary wars. All communist party members work for the four modernizations by becoming men of action, saying less, performing more real work, performing honestly at one's sentry post and bending one's back to the task. The mental attitude of listlessness and neglect of the four modernizations or even that of doubting it are contrary to strong revolutionary spirit of struggle found in communist party members and are extremely harmful to the four modernizations.

Building the four modernizations definitely requires foreign aid, but we must firmly hold to self-reliance as our major goal. As to the method of managing the importation of foreign advanced technology, equipment and science, we must unify with our actual conditions and absorb and digest them to make them our own. We must have a strict accounting for each cent of capital used for construction, be extremely careful with all public funds and property and grimly fight against extravagance and waste.

The proletarian spirit of bitter struggle is the great weapon which we used to overcome corrupt bourgeois ideology. Guangdong is a forward position in the struggle against the international bourgeoisie. We definitely cannot ignore bourgeois political and ideological infiltration and bourgeois illegal economic activities; nor can we ignore the perfume-hidden stench of the capitalist world. We must maintain alert minds and a high state of alertness to guard against corruption and avoid being polluted. Only in this way can communist party members maintain a vigorous revolutionary fighting spirit and remain forever impregnable.

The fourth is to serve the people and be responsible for them.

This is the goal of our party and the task of communist party members. Comrade Mao Zedong has said, "No matter when or where, communist party members should not put their own interests first but should always subjugate individual interests to the interests of the nation and the masses." He also pointed out that party cadres of both high and low position are the servants of the people and must give their all in this service. Our party is the ruling party, and in these times of striving to build a high level of material and spiritual civilization, or efforts to make progress in emphasizing these questions has real significance. Communist party members must always be thinking of the personal well-being of the masses, must work for the good of the masses and provide them with perceptable material benefits. They should be public-minded, honest in their public performance, not seek after fame and eschew personal gain. They ought to lead the way in bitter toil, be last to enjoy the gains, and give their best till their dying day. In carrying out the special policies and lively actions and in operating the special zones we must make them truly special, lively and progressive;

nonetheless, as communist party members they must strictly adhere to the "Guiding Principles" and absolutely must not permit any special privileges. Such things as using public office for private gain, corruption and graft, speculation and opportunism and giving and taking bribes are prohibited by both party discipline and national law. Such manners as being above everyone else, separation from reality and the masses, imitation, ineffectiveness, shirking of duty, mutual wrangling and unresponsive bureaucratism are incompatible with the glorious designation of a communist party member. A party member is an element in the party organization and a party member's good or bad behavior directly influences the trust the masses place in the communist party and mass-party relations. Because of this, all party members must strictly observe party membership standards, have model behavior at all times and in all places and be a model leader. Only in this way can we unite with and lead the masses and share in the struggle to implement the four modernizations.

Guangdong is the southern gate to the nation and exerts a great influence both nationally and abroad and each communist party member in each sentry post is faced with different questions in performing in the correct party style and in serving the people even better. We must work hard at the Lei Feng spirit, promoting the communist style, implanting an excellent social manner, exerting utmost responsibility in performing work, having extreme warmheartedness for the masses and strive to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization.

To strengthen party organization building and to strengthen the nurturing and education of party members is the guarantee for completely giving vent to the function of party members as models of the vanguard. To have a sound party organization, strengthen party unity, enforce party discipline, strengthen democratic centralism and positively open up criticism and self-criticism will make each party organization into a powerful fortress for struggle. There must be close relationships with the masses and a conscious acceptance of mass criticism of party members and party organization at any time and at any place. When we are now commemorating the birth of the party all party members should strive to become models in implementing party line, direction and policy, models in obeying laws and upholding unity, models of limitless honor and selfless effort in revolutionary matters, models of hard study, both red and expert and skilled in one's profession and make even greater contributions in carrying out the great endeavors of socialist construction of modernization.

11582
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PARTY AND STATE

FOUR PRINCIPLES REFLECT SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Chu Xu [2806 2485]: "The Four Principles Are the Concentrated Reflection of Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The socialist state we wish to build must have not only an advanced material civilization but also an advanced spiritual civilization. This is an important historical mission conferred upon our people by our time. In order to fulfill this mission, the most fundamental point is unshakably to adhere to the four basic principles.

Why do we say this? Because the contents of socialist spiritual civilization are very broad. They include educational development, scientific prosperity, and literary and artistic exuberance and similar substantive aspects on the one hand, while on the other hand they include morals, traditions and customs and other such ideological aspects. In the final analysis, the intent is to infuse various ideological fronts with an ideology guided by Marxism so as to foster and train the new people of the socialist era. The four principles are important contents of socialist spiritual civilization and also are fundamental guarantees for the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Apart from the four basic principles, there is no way to reflect the characteristics and essence of socialist spiritual civilization, and the building of such spiritual civilization would lose its direction.

We are a socialist country; we have eliminated systems of exploitation, and what we are implementing is public ownership of the means of production. This serves to determine that the norms of collectivist conduct are the core of socialist morality. In a slave society, a feudal society, and a capitalist society, the moral norms are individualism and egoism. In a socialist society, people labor together, enjoy together, and endeavor to ensure that the material conditions and culture of the entire society will continue to be enriched and improved through common efforts in order to forge common ideals, common beliefs, common morals, and common discipline. Whoever struggles for such a public cause must abandon individualism and place collectivism at the core of all their moral qualities. Such persons adhere to the principle that the party's and people's interests are superior to everything else, and they therefore subordinate individual interests to the interests of the party and the people; apart from attempting to secure the interests of the broadest masses of the people, they have no particular

interests of their own. Hence, only by adhering to the socialist path can we create an advanced socialist spiritual civilization.

The party must lead the building of socialist material civilization; it must also lead the building of socialist spiritual civilization. In order to shoulder these two heavy construction tasks, the party must not only undertake a series of organizational tasks but also carry out penetrating and careful work on ideological education, and in particular it must give play to the vanguard and model role of communists. The large contingent of heroic model personalities who have surged forth in the midst of the revolution and construction, the spirit of strictly abiding by discipline and readily undertaking self-sacrifice, the spirit of selflessness and yielding to others, the spirit of overcoming all enemies and overcoming all difficulties, and the spirit of adhering to revolutionary optimism and of eradicating all difficulties in order to win victory--these are all results of our party's training and education. Historical and realistic experience tells us that when the party's leadership and the party's fine traditions are subject to sabotage, public morality in society and the people's spiritual outlook will suffer devastation and old ideologies will spread. Hence, in building our socialist spiritual civilization, we must strengthen the party's leadership and try to influence and transform the people's customs with the party's fine traditions and workstyle.

People's democratic dictatorship includes dictatorship over the enemy and democracy for the people. In order to achieve both of these aspects, we must be as Lei Feng described: cruel as the autumn wind sweeping away the fallen leaves with respect to our enemies; and warm as the spring with respect to the people. Such a standpoint and such a viewpoint, which clearly differentiates love from hatred, is itself one of the principal contents of socialist spiritual civilization. This is one point. On the other hand, only by cracking down on various criminal elements can we do a good job of building a socialist spiritual civilization. This is because every criminal activity constitutes social havoc and a reaction to spiritual civilization. Without struggling against such scourges, without eliminating the destructive factors relating to spiritual civilization, we cannot even maintain general social order or observe common social ethics, let alone build a socialist spiritual civilization.

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are themselves spiritual things. On the basis of inheriting the results of human civilization, they have summed up the historical experience of proletarian revolution and profoundly revealed the developmental laws of the natural world, human society, and mental activities. They are of great guiding significance to us in perceiving and changing the world. Engels said: "A nation which hopes to stand at the peak of science cannot do without theoretical contemplation, even for a single moment." Similarly, we cannot do without Marxism-Leninism. Practice has fully proved that the growth of many communist personalities is nurtured by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In our society, the more Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are popularized, and the more the people learn to apply Marxist standpoints, viewpoints, and methods, the greater progress socialist spiritual civilization will achieve.

Every era has a spirit of the time that corresponds to it. Socialist spiritual civilization is a new stage in the development of human spiritual civilization; it embodies the superiority of the socialist system and the advanced nature of the communist ideal. It has incomparable value compared to the spiritual civilization of any other period in the past. Today, when we consider whether a person has a socialist spirit, one important criterion is to see whether he upholds and adheres to the four basic principles. The reason is very simple: apart from the four basic principles, people are unable to have common ideals, beliefs, and morals, and without common rules and norms of conduct we simply cannot talk about correctly handling the relationship between what is public and what is private, between hardship and enjoyment, between life and death, between glory and shame, and between beauty and ugliness. Are we not launching a "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" civility and courtesy movement--a movement with emphasis on order, and with emphasis on morality, and with beautiful soul, beautiful language, beautiful conduct, and beautiful environment as its contents--on a broad scale today? Only by adhering to the four basic principles can such "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" activity have a correct orientation and a lofty soul. In our country, if a person did not ardently love the party, love socialism, love people's democratic dictatorship, and love Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, it would be sheer irrelevance to [try to] have him succeed in carrying out the "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful."

As a colloquial saying puts it: "Without a compass and a carpenter's square, one cannot draw a square and a circle." Adherence to the four basic principles constitutes today's compass and carpenter's square. Whoever adheres to the four basic principles and applies them in his personal conduct is a person of morality, a person of noble character, and a person beneficial to the people. Two thousand years ago, Confucius put forward this kind of proposition; it was then called: "Don't look except according to the rules of propriety, don't listen except according to the rules of propriety, don't speak except according to the rules of propriety, and don't make a move except according to the rules of propriety." Because of the fact that the Confucianists have their own interpretations of "propriety," we cannot simply copy them today. But if we now impart new meanings to this term "propriety" and take it as the four basic principles and socialist moral norms, then these few sentences are just as applicable today. Each one of us should regard words and deeds that are in violation of the four basic principles and words and deeds that are in violation of socialist moral norms as not being "according to the rules of propriety." Thus we should not only refrain from "looking, listening, speaking, and making a move" in such cases, but we should also put up solemn struggles against them. Once such powerful social public opinion takes shape, the whole society will recreate a vigorous new trend to inspire a forward march in unity. Then our Chinese nation will surely have an advanced socialist spiritual civilization on which to stand independent among the world's nations. Our efforts to rebuild the state by means of the four modernizations will also be full of hope.

PARTY AND STATE

'HIGHLY DEVELOPED SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY' DEFINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 81 p 4

[Article by Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535]: "Important Evolution of Marxism"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," passed by the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, sums up scientifically and realistically the basic experiences of the party during the past 32 years since the establishment of the PRC. It is a conscientious study of the new conditions and new problems faced by our country in its practical experiences and is an evolutionary development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions of today. To undertake a penetrating study and gain an earnest understanding of the spiritual essence of the "Resolution," and to raise our country's study of Marxism to new heights--this is the glorious task that all of us workers in the social sciences have to fulfil.

The "Resolution" enriches and develops Marxism in many aspects, and one of these aspects is the theory of a highly developed socialist democracy.

The "Resolution" points out that it is one of the basic tasks of the socialist revolution to gradually establish a highly democratic socialist political system, and that it is an objective of our party's struggle in the new historical era to gradually build up a strong modern socialist country with a high degree of democracy and culture. The demand for and emphasis on a high degree of democracy under the prerequisite of socialism was a pioneering proposition of Marxism. I shall briefly call it "the theory of highly developed socialist democracy."

This theory is put forward as a summing up of our party's historical experiences, both positive and negative. The "Resolution" points out: "Inadequate attention was paid to this task (Note: A reference to the establishment of a highly democratic political system) after the founding of the PRC. This was one of the major factors for the occurrence of the "Cultural Revolution," and it is a grievous lesson for us." In his "Speech at the Meeting Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the CCP," Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "One of the fundamental reasons why the grievous errors of the 'Cultural Revolution' remained unrectified for so long is that the regular political life of our party--inner-party democratic centralism and the collective leadership of the Central Committee in particular--had been disrupted." He also added as his sincere statement and

earnest wish: "All our comrades must forever remember this grievous lesson of history and take it as a warning."

This accords exactly with the facts. If there had been democracy within the party and in the political life of the state, such phenomena as mentioned in the "Resolution" could not have happened: the correct line of the Eighth National Party Congress was rejected soon after convocation; the CCP Central Committee failed to correct some of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in time; during the "Cultural Revolution" the mistaken "leftist" course taken by Comrade Mao Zedong as an individual replaced the collective leadership of the CCP Central Committee.... The "tragedy" of Comrade Mao Zedong and the certain measure of responsibility on the part of the CCP Central Committee for the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong were all due to a lack of democracy within the party and in the political life of the state.

The proposition of the theory of a highly developed democracy also starts with the actual conditions of China. The "Resolution" points out: "China is a country with a long history of feudalism.... It remains difficult to eliminate the evil ideological and political influence of centuries of feudal autocracy. For various historical reasons, we failed to institutionalize and legalize inner-party democracy and democracy in the political and social life of the country, or we drew up the relevant laws but they lacked due authority. This provided the conditions for the overconcentration of party power in individuals and for the development of arbitrary individual rule and the cult of personality within the party. It was therefore difficult for the party and state to prevent the initiation of the 'Cultural Revolution' or to check its development." The theory of a highly developed democracy is the exact medicine that will remedy this malady.

The foundation for the theory of a highly developed democracy is the fundamental principle of historical materialism--the Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses are the makers of history. This principle tells us that the people are the creators of history. The people's revolution and the construction of socialism are undertakings by the people themselves. Whatever we do, we must rely on the people, trust the people, and accept the supervision of the people. With their victory in the revolution, the people have become the masters of the state and of society. The theory of a highly developed democracy is precisely the result of the evolution of this principle.

In many places the "Resolution" has expounded the theory of a highly developed socialist democracy. This may perhaps be summarized as follows:

A highly developed democracy means inner-party democracy and people's democracy as well as their interrelations. It stands to reason that if democracy fails to be the principle for inner-party life, then it cannot become the principle for our social life as a whole. And, vice versa, if there is no democracy among the people, democracy cannot come about within the party.

A highly developed democracy means democracy in political life, social life, and economic life. It ensures that the people are the real masters of the state,

society and the enterprises, and that they take a direct part in making decisions in all fields.

A highly developed democracy means the institutionalization and legalization of democracy and the adoption of a series of policies and measures to ensure its realization.

A highly developed democracy means democracy for the great majority of the people; it is essentially different from bourgeois democracy, which only a minority enjoys. Highly developed democracy is a state of continuous evolution until communism is established and the powers of the state and its structure as well as the party itself wither away and it is turned into what Marx calls the "community of free men." Of course, this process will be one of gradual development. During the historical stage in which class struggle still exists, a highly developed democracy also means dictatorship over a small number of class enemies, for this guarantees that the majority of people enjoy a highly developed democracy.

The theory of a highly developed democracy stresses a high degree of centralism on the basis of highly developed democracy. This formulation truly expresses the special feature of the system of democratic centralism; it differentiates it from bureaucratic centralism and on the other hand also from anarchism.

The theory of highly developed democracy also deals with the relationship between party leadership and democracy. Comrade Hu Yaobang made a brilliant exposition in his speech: "To organize and support the people in fulfilling the role as masters of the country and society and in building a new life under socialism is the very essence of the party's leadership over the affairs of state." This calls for combining party leadership with the requirements of people's democracy so that the party is truly at one with the people and is a true representative of the people's interests.

The theory of a highly developed democracy will provide the key for the study and correct solution of the question of the relationship between the leaders and the party—a question which has not yet been correctly solved throughout the history of the international communist movement. It also serves as a key to the study and correct solution of a question in the theory of historical materialism: namely, the relationship between the masses, classes, political parties, and leaders.

There is not the slightest doubt that the theory of a highly developed socialist democracy is an evolutionary development of Marxism, and that in actual practice it will have a deep and far-reaching influence on the future development of our party and state—and even on the international communist movement.

8453

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PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF SIXTH PLENUM RESOLUTION FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 81 p 4

[Article by Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678]: "Continue Exploration of the Law of Development of Socialist Society"]

[Text] In 1945, the resolution on the question of party history passed by the Seventh Plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee established at that time a uniform concept within the party, strengthened the unity of the whole party, and promoted the victory of the people's revolution. The resolution that has now been passed by the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee will surely play an equally important role in history. This concept, held by all the delegates at the Sixth Plenum, is precisely the concept of the broad masses of our country's workers in the field of social sciences, who will certainly respond to the call of the plenum and, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, will make their own particular contributions in every sector of the social sciences toward the socialist construction of our country.

In analyzing the social and historical reasons for the occurrence and the 10-year duration of the "Cultural Revolution," this "Resolution" points out: "The history of the socialist movement is not a long one; the history of socialist countries is even shorter still. Some laws governing the development of socialist society have already become clear, but many more await further exploration." The serious setbacks and losses suffered during the "Great Cultural Revolution" have taught us a grievous lesson and deepened our knowledge of the laws governing the development of socialism, enabling us to avoid again committing such serious mistakes as the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, we must admit that there is still room for further exploration with regard to the developmental laws of socialism. To pursue such exploration is one of the glorious and arduous tasks of our country's workers in the field of the social sciences.

Scientific socialism is a doctrine first established by Marx and Engels. After this doctrine was grasped by progressive elements among the intellectuals and later by progressive elements among the workers, it developed in a number of countries into the socialist movement. After lengthy development of the socialist movement, and under favorable historical conditions, some countries achieved victory in their socialist revolution and realized socialism in their social system. This was followed by starting up the construction of a socialist economy and culture and the development of socialist material and spiritual culture.

Doctrine, movement, institutionalization, and culture--this is the general course taken by scientific socialism. However, even in countries where the socialist system has already been instituted and socialist culture is taking shape, the socialist movement is still in a stage of development; it is only that the character of the movement and its tasks are different from those prior to the adoption of the socialist system. The basic system of socialism is stable, but a country's system of economic organization is not immutable and frozen for all time. As reflections of the development of the socialist system and socialist culture, the doctrine of scientific socialism and scientific socialism as a field of science must quite naturally also undergo further development and progress.

Before victory in its revolution, our country was either a capitalist or a semi-feudal, semicolonial society, and it was then that the Chinese Communist Party was born, guided by the doctrine of scientific socialism. Following this event, a revolutionary movement arose in China which was led by the CCP and which had anti-imperialism and antifeudalism as its social content. Under the specific historical conditions of the time, and due to the correct leadership of the CCP as well as to the arduous struggle of the Chinese masses, the revolutionary movement developed swiftly and violently. In the course of an arduous and tortuous 28 years, the victory of the people's revolution was finally won. In the 7 years of struggle that followed the successful conclusion of the revolution, from 1949 to 1956, the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production and the change from new people's democracy to socialism, all under the leadership of the party, were basically completed. From then on, the contradiction in Chinese society was one between the constantly increasing material and cultural needs of the people and the backward state of our production. One way to solve this contradiction is to reform, within a given period of time, the system of socialist organization, to search for and implement a system better suited for the development of productive forces, bringing into full play the superiority of the socialist system for the greatest development of the social productive forces, and on this basis to gradually improve the material and cultural livelihood of the people. In the face of these tasks, it is extremely important and significant to continue to explore the laws that govern the development of socialist society. The "Resolution" calls on us to "make a great effort to strengthen the study of Marxist theory throughout the entire party," and one of the most important aspects of the study of Marxist theory is the study of the developmental laws of socialism. If we can register achievements in this respect, we shall accomplish in the course of our socialist construction an advance in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Exploration of the developmental laws of socialism requires methodologically studying the facts and summing up historical experiences. Although the history of socialism is not a long one, it has been a century and a half since Marx and Engels first set forth the doctrine of scientific socialism, and over 60 years since the first socialist state appeared in the world; thus a fairly abundant amount of facts and material has already accumulated. Even in the 32 years since the foundation of the PRC, several stages of development have been experienced, as the "Resolution" points out, and many aspects of the developmental laws of socialism can be gleaned from our practical experiences. Chinese Marxists who study this question must of course stress the study of our country's historical

experiences. The resolution of the Sixth Plenum put forth certain demands regarding such studies and points their direction. We, the workers in the field of the social sciences, are determined to use our specialized knowledge, building on the great quantity of factual and theoretical material accumulated in the 32 years since the foundation of the PRC, to engage in a penetrating and systematic analysis and to launch free and earnest studies and discussions.

At the same time, we must also be aware of the fact that exploration of the developmental laws of socialism is a question that has the concern not only of our country's workers in the field of Marxist theory but also of Marxist theoreticians in other countries. The historical experiences on which exploration of the developmental laws of socialism relies, as we mentioned before, are not limited to those of China. For a truly penetrating comprehension of the objective laws, the emphatic study of our country's historical experiences must be accompanied by the study of foreign history and by the drawing of lessons from useful foreign experiences. On this question we must make a comparative study of various countries. Since smashing the "gang of four," we have abandoned the policy of seclusion that had been in force for quite some time, and have visited many foreign countries. Our Marxist theoreticians have engaged in scholarly exchanges of various natures with scholars of Marxist theory in other countries. This has also been very beneficial for our studies.

After the Sixth Plenum, we, the workers in the field of the social sciences, have become very much aware of our own great responsibilities. Since the demise of the "gang of four," we, the workers in the field of the social sciences, have done a great amount of work with regard to emancipating the mind and turning chaos into order. We also have raised many important questions and launched discussions on them. It is my hope that the present conference will serve as a new starting point for social science studies in this country, and that even greater achievements than those in the past will be accomplished.

8453

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PARTY AND STATE

SICHUAN GOVERNMENT EMPHASIZES SPIRIT OF SIXTH PLENUM

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by reporter Ai Feng [5337 7364]: "Unify Ideology in the Spirit of the Sixth Plenum: The Central Study Group of the Provincial People's Government Institutes Systematic Study of the Various Resolutions Passed at the Sixth Plenum and of Comrade Hu Yaobang's Speech"]

[Text] Starting 2 July, the central study group organized by the deputy governor, the chief secretary and all leading cadres of the Sichuan provincial government instituted a concentrated study of the various resolutions passed at the Sixth Plenum and of Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech. The various departments and bureaus also began systematic studies with party members taking the initiative.

During the discussions, the members of the central study group of the provincial people's government maintained a spirit of high enthusiasm and took to the floor one after another. All were agreed that the Sixth Plenum, coming on the heels of the Third Plenum, was another meeting of great significance in the history of our party, a meeting that summed up our experiences and signified our march forward in unity. This meeting is bound to have a tremendous effect on the unity of the entire party, the ideology of the entire nation, on inspiring revolutionary enthusiasm, on clarifying the direction of our advance and on the unity in our struggle to build a strong and modern socialist country.

Deputy Governors He Haoju [0149 6787 3515], Liu Haiquan [0491 3189 3123], Meng Dongbo [1322 2639 3134], Guan Xuesi [4619 1331 1835], and Wu Xihai [0702 1585 3189] related their own personal experiences and sentiments regarding the situation when discussing the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." They were all unanimously of the opinion that this resolution was well written, expressing their innermost thoughts and feelings. It radiates in every respect the glory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and fully signifies that our party is a mature and prudent party with a high sense of responsibility toward the people, and therefore a party that can be trusted, a truly great party. In their discussions they expressed the view that the "resolution" fully affirms the achievements of 32 years of construction in our country, realistically evaluates the great merits of Comrade Mao Zedong, systematically and correctly explains the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought, points out and analyzes the serious mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, and differentiates the correct Mao Zedong Thought from

the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. In this way a clear distinction is drawn between merits and mistakes, between right and wrong, thus providing the entire party and the entire people with the basis for a unified ideology and conception.

Deputy Secretary Yue Zhong [1471 1813]; Comrade Han Zhengfu [7281 2973 1133], chairman of the provincial science committee; and Comrade Zhou Hang [0719 5300], deputy chairman of the provincial cultural affairs office, in their speeches said: Now we must not again get ourselves entangled in historical questions, but must establish an ideological unity throughout the entire party, particularly among the leading cadres, in line with the spirit of the Sixth Plenum, and look forward in unity and earnestly take in hand the 10 tasks pointed out in the "resolution," in order to gain the great revolutionary victory in our socialist modernization.

8453

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PARTY AND STATE

COUNTRY'S SOCIALIST FUTURE VIEWED AS HISTORICALLY INEVITABLE

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 6, Jun 81 pp 2-5

[Article by Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028]: "People's Choice, Historical Inevitability"]

[Excerpts] Our People Are Great, Our Party Is Great

When joining the party, all communists are determined and swear to struggle for the communist cause through to the end. The time when they join may be early or may be late, their party age may be long or may be short; passing through setbacks, failures and victories, some have gloriously sacrificed their lives, others continue to struggle. Because they have established this conviction in believing that the communist cause is bound to triumph, even under extraordinarily difficult conditions they can still get through a crisis by dint of resilient and persistent struggle. In 1927, the Chiang Kai-shek clique slaughtered a large number of communists, drowning the best elements of China's various nationalities in a sea of blood. Yet, those comrades who survived buried the bodies of their comrades, wiped off the blood, and continued to forge ahead. During the Long March of 25,000 li, our fighting ranks dwindled from 300,000 to only 30,000, but then the new anti-Japanese national united front began. During the 10-year "Cultural Revolution," our cause suffered great sabotage because of the activities of the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Our comrades by no means lost their confidence in communism as a result. Even when they were suffering the most cruel persecution and attacks, they still believed that difficult days were bound to pass away. In reality, we still won.

The "Cultural Revolution," indeed, hurt us greatly, but we must at the same time see that during the "Cultural Revolution" period we still exhibited a healthy side and there still existed healthy forces. The vast ranks of the masses of the people, the vast ranks of communists, including among them the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and also including the vast ranks of youths, all engaged in undaunted, persistent, repeated struggles with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in various periods, by various methods, and to various degrees. Was this not called "the February adverse current" in the past? Actually, it should have been called "the February forward current." After that, they continued once more to carry on the struggles; the end-result of these struggles turned out to be that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were the ones who failed, and the party and the people were the ones who won.

In Chinese as well as foreign histories, there have been numerous examples of castles being breached from within. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques sneaked into our party Central Committee and seized part of the important party and state powers of leadership. The haughty positions occupied by these counterrevolutionary double-dealers and the cunning, venomous and sinister nature of their tricks were all unprecedented in our party history. We should admit that, during the period of the "Cultural Revolution," our party and state were in extraordinarily dangerous waters. But we must at the same time see that, despite the wide-ranging ravages of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for 10 years, they, after all, failed to breach our fortress, failed to overthrow our party, and failed to break up our socialist state. Despite the heavy prices paid by the vast ranks of the party members, vast ranks of the cadres, and the people of various nationalities of the country, they firmly guarded our fortress through the struggle. Many sacrificed and maimed communists were still shouting "Long Live the Chinese Communist Party" at the time when they were subjected to severe punishment and torture. Some could not speak, as in the case of a maimed comrade like Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], but they still used writing to convey their firm belief. Some did not have time to exercise, or were deprived of, their right to put down their oath in writing and thus died in silence, but they died as glorious communists. Comrade Liu Shaoqi was one such example. They went through such treatment as being locked in cattle sheds, being put on a jet-like torturing device, beating, and all sorts of abuse, and persecution, but to this very day nobody has heard any real communist complaining about the party or leaving the party. None ever asked to withdraw from the party in those days. Some comrades were overthrown but reemerged again to take up their work. Some comrades stuck to their posts and, whenever possible, went on shouldering their heavy burdens in the face of adversity and doing whatever possible, braving whatever necessary, in order to protect the people, protect the party cadres, exert their utmost efforts to carry out various beneficial work for the party and the people under extremely trying conditions.

The "Cultural Revolution" made the management level of enterprises fall considerably. Various rules and regulations were also subject to violation. Concerned units have made some calculations, which indicate that during those 10 years the country suffered some 500 billion yuan of losses in national income. On the other hand, because comrades who stuck to their posts made their efforts and because of the high sense of responsibility shown by the vast ranks of the masses of the people, our cadres, technical personnel, and staff and workers toward their socialist undertakings, fixed assets increased by 150 percent during those 10 years, and the average rate of industrial growth reached 7 percent.

Our party and people have the great power to defeat all enemies from without and from within who attempt to carry out sabotage by various forms. This power does not come from anybody's subjective wishes but has been shaped gradually by the long history of the Chinese revolution. It has a deep, realistic foundation. What needs to be especially mentioned is the long-term education rendered by Mao Zedong Thought to comrades of the whole party and the people of the country's various nationalities. Mao Zedong Thought--this is the powerful spiritual weapon which enabled us to win victory. From the Zunyi Conference to the victory of the war of resistance, our party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong educated

a generation of people with Mao Zedong Thought, including that what is known as the "three-eight style" generation. There were also several generations educated after the war of liberation and the liberation itself. These people are mostly taking up leadership duties on the country's various fronts today. During the Yan'an period, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong led and organized the whole party in undertaking conscientious study of Marxism-Leninism through the summing up of the historical experience of our revolution. This played a very great role in arming comrades of the whole party. Today, we all talk about "seeking truth from facts"; on the surface, they are but four characters. But these four characters contain the extremely rich experience and lessons from the process of several decades of our party's struggles; in a certain sense, they have been obtained by countless martyrs of the revolution with their own struggles and sacrifices. Such a basic point of Mao Zedong Thought has not been, but is and will be, of decisive significance to the ultimate success of our cause. We must absolutely not negate Mao Zedong Thought in any basic sense or completely deny Comrade Mao Zedong's merits just because he made mistakes in his later years. His merits are primary; his mistakes are secondary. This point must be affirmed clearly. Excessively stressing Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes and smearing Comrade Mao Zedong's face would be tantamount to smearing the face of our party and the face of our state. For the past half century Comrade Mao Zedong's revolutionary activities have always been closely associated with the history of our party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said recently, the "Cultural Revolution" was indeed a serious mistake. But insofar as Comrade Mao Zedong was concerned, this was after all the serious mistake made by a great revolutionary, and we cannot exceed this limit. Exceeding this limit would no longer tally with historical reality. Of course, having been subjected to rectification, one is liable to feel uncomfortable or even resentful. But we must endeavor to become proletarian statesmen and refrain from resorting to emotionalism. We cannot depart from historical materialism.

What Mao Zedong Thought has fostered is not limited to the older generation of people; there has also been one generation after another of young people. There is one situation of which all the comrades I have met would speak with great pleasure and special excitement, and that is that during the period of the "Cultural Revolution," when large contingents of leading cadres at various levels were pushed aside and overthrown and Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway and seized power, when the party and the state faced a situation of mortal danger, those who stepped forward to struggle with these two counterrevolutionary cliques included not only the older generation of revolutionaries but also the new, younger generation educated by our party and our state. On the question of struggling with Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they had already taken over the banner of the older generation and stepped up to frontline. Taking a look back, this period of history is of great significance. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, as well as real life itself, taught our youths and enabled them, through a comparison between the positive and negative aspects of our experience, to enhance their ability to differentiate the enemies from ourselves and distinguish right from wrong, so that the 1976 revolutionary movement to castigate the "gang of four" at Tian'anmen Square ultimately broke out.

The victory of the cause of Chinese revolution and construction was achieved by the common struggles of the people of the country's various nationalities under the leadership of our party. It is precisely because we have a great people and

a great party that not only can we go on to greater victories when we triumph, when we encounter difficulties and detours, we can also toughen ourselves, ignore sacrifices, drive forward with determination, and open up new vistas. In the past, at present, or in the future, this would be the surest guarantee for the success of our cause.

The Socialist System Has Already Come To Be Deeply Rooted in China

The socialist system has already existed in our country for more than 20 years. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we summed up past experience and lessons and corrected the defects and mistakes in our past work; the purpose was to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system which had been demonstrated before the "Cultural Revolution" but which suffered great sabotage during it. This was altogether necessary. But another deviation took place at the same time, and that was that comrades thought too little of the achievements made by our socialist undertakings and underestimated them. In a situation in which we continued to win greater and greater victories, whether or not the socialist system exhibited any superiority seemed to have been a problem among certain parts of people.

The reason why some people had become skeptical about the socialist system, apart from certain causes in their subjectivity, had, generally speaking, also to do with two causes: One was the sabotage by domestic and external enemies, mainly by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and its aftermath has hardly disappeared even now. The other was the defects and mistakes we actually showed in our work. Despite the continued efforts we have made in recognizing and correcting these defects and mistakes, things accumulated for a long time are not what can be solved completely in a year or two.

Regarding the liquidation of the remaining poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" we have already done a great deal of work. As we look at it now, we need to do still more. Not only does the remaining poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" need to be continually eliminated, but some facts already prove that the remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are still engaged in rather destructive activities in certain localities and units. They are raising the hubbub that there exists in China a special stratum today and the contradiction in Chinese society is the contradiction between the vast ranks of the people and this very special stratum. The only path for solving this problem, as they see it, is to resort to a so-called "second revolution." Some people even say that the last "Cultural Revolution" was to push the "capitalist-roaders" aside, but if we resort to "Cultural Revolution" once again, it would be no longer just to push them aside, but to kill them one by one. They are also propagating the theory that a gap separates the older generation and the younger generation. We cannot expect the older generation to fill up this gap, so the only thing we can do is to overthrow the older generation entirely and let people like them fill it. In a word, compared to those of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" the program, slogans, strategies, modes of activity of these people are slightly different in form but totally the same in substance.

It still requires great efforts on our part to further criticize the counter-revolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and further eliminate the

residual poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with respect to such anti-party and anti-socialist expressions and activities. The work we are required to do at present, aside from carrying out a resolute crackdown on veritable anti-party and anti-socialist activities and serious criminal offenses within the limits of the Constitution and the law, is to patently, carefully and persuasively strengthen our ideological and political work, win over and unite with the vast ranks of the masses, and reduce the market for those evil forces.

We need to use accurate, unimpeachable data to enable the masses of the people, especially youths, to understand that the superiority of the socialist system and its great vitality do not merely represent subjective longings, but are deeply rooted in an objective foundation and historical inevitability. Socialism replaces private ownership with public ownership, fundamentally eliminates exploitation and oppression, and carries out the principles of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work. Public ownership replacing private ownership is the most profound revolution in history. The realization of this revolution is itself a fundamental difference from all exploitative systems in the old society.

We must seek truth from facts in examining our achievements. Seeking truth from facts includes looking at problems from the overall situation. When our country was compared to the capitalist developed countries in recent years, we and foreigners alike often quoted one set of figures, that is, the average per capita share of the gross national product to determine our place in the economic development of countries of the world. This was accurate in one respect. But we cannot just use a standard of this sort alone to measure the degree of a country's development, but must carry out comparisons comprehensively over certain principal aspects of social production and social life, and among these the most important thing is to look at the degree to which basic needs in the life of the overwhelming majority of the people are guaranteed and satisfied.

Last year, an economic delegation from the World Bank came to our country to visit and study. They still considered ours a poor country, but at the same time acknowledged that, viewed from the overall situation, the growth rate of the Chinese economy was fairly fast, its industry was fairly well developed, the distribution of its national income was fairly equitable and success was being achieved in respect to the satisfaction of the needs of a majority of the country's population. In China, there are far fewer people living under the poverty line than in those countries, such as India, whose original foundations had been similar. They also lived under far better conditions, and great results had also been scored in such enterprises as education, public health and control over population increase.

Insofar as such characteristics as size of the country, size of the population and a weak economic foundation are concerned, the original conditions of China and India were quite similar, and the two countries also achieved liberation or independence at approximately the same time. But because we established a socialist system, we were therefore faster in various aspects of our development

than India. We may carry out a comparison in the growth situation of nine principal industrial and agricultural products in this regard, to wit: crude oil, raw coal, electric power, rough steel, cement, chemical fertilizers, foodgrain, cotton fabrics and cotton. In 1950 our crude oil, raw coal, foodgrain and cotton production exceeded that of India, but not by a large margin. The range was a mere 15.4 percent (raw coal) to 106 percent (foodgrain). The production of all the other five lagged behind India. But what was the situation 30 years later? Among the nine products, when 1979 is compared to 1950, our margin of increase ranged from 2.1 times (foodgrain) to 675.4 times (chemical fertilizers), whereas that of India ranged from 1.3 times (cotton) to 112 times (chemical fertilizers). In his article "China and India: Comparison and Contrast," Indian economist Ramaswami, director of the India Management Research Institute of Bangalore fairly pointed out: China's conditions in 1949 were far worse than those of India, yet China's present per capita average income is twice or thrice the corresponding figure for India. Even a biased person looking at such a comparison would acknowledge that China far surpasses India.

Establishment and development of the socialist system in China is the choice of the people and a historical inevitability. Even such serious sabotage perpetrated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution" failed to shake its foundation an iota. Today, we have smashed those two counter-revolutionary cliques and conscientiously summed up our experience and lessons. At the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and thereafter, we also reiterated and established a correct line and a series of principles and policies and continued to improve and promote various work. Who can break them down or destroy them? Those who violate objective laws will only get their heads cracked and bloodied by them. We have derived one conclusion and established one conviction from the development of world history and from the development of our history in the past 30 years: the socialist system has now taken deep roots in China, and such roots can no longer be cut or dug up. So long as we unite closely around the party Central Committee, continue to sum up experience, stay forever together with the people, and work solidly and conscientiously, the socialist cause is bound to win greater and greater victories, opponents are bound to be defeated, misguided persons are bound to wake up, and our people will become increasingly proud of their socialist motherland.

9255

CSO: 4005/749

PARTY AND STATE

UPHOLDING MASS LINE IN SPIRIT OF PARTY RESOLUTION URGED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 81 p 2

[Article by Shou Chun [1108 2504]: "Uphold the Mass Line"]

[Text] In the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," one of the three basic aspects of the living spirit of Mao Zedong Thought is summarized. This is the mass line--everything for the masses, everything depends on the masses; gather views from and return them to the masses. If our party hopes to further the cause of socialism, then we must uphold the mass line.

Comrade Mao Zedong, through the long process of leading our nation's revolution and construction, took an underlying principle of Marxism--that the masses are the creators of history--and systematically applied it to all party activities, and so formed the mass line of the party in all its work. This was a summation of the most precious historical experience of our party in carrying out revolutionary activities over a long period in the difficult environment in which a great disparity existed between our strength and the strength of our enemies. To uphold this mass line, Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized that our leadership must be correct when we lead the masses in actual work. We must utilize the style of "from the masses, to the masses," and carry out a merger of leaders and the masses and a combination of general appeals and individual guidance. This entire mass line system of leadership and work methods was a great addition to Marxist theory by Comrade Mao Zedong and the CCP.

As early as the period of land reform, Comrade Mao Zedong viewed the question of work method as being an important question in determining our ability to guarantee the victory of the revolution. He indicated that we must "pay attention to work methods," just as when we determine whether to cross a river by bridge or by boat. In the party Central Committee directive, "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," which he originally drafted during the war of resistance against Japan, he further explained the unified character of the dialectical materialist work methods of the line of cognition and the mass line, and clearly pointed out: "In all practical work of our party, all correct leadership is necessarily "from the masses, to the masses." This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold

fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge." This "from the masses, to the masses" scientific method of leadership is actually the concrete application of the Marxist theory of knowledge in practical work. It is not only the wellspring of our strength, it is also the source of our correct, guiding ideology. As Comrade Mao Zedong stated, in all cases "better leadership comes with greater skill in doing this." Why did Comrade Mao Zedong sum up the basic method of leadership of our party in the line, "from the masses, to the masses?" Basically, this was determined by the dialectical materialist worldview and theory of knowledge of the party. The essential aim of our CCP is the wholehearted service of the people. And if we wish to serve well, then we must begin with the actual situation of the masses and do things in accordance with the interests, views, and demands of the masses. "From the masses, to the masses" means placing the interests of the people first, and everywhere thinking of and planning for the masses. It further means penetrating into the practical activities of the masses, such as their struggle for production, their class struggle and their scientific experiments, as well as carrying out broad investigations, modestly listening to the calls of the masses, and seeing to it that our speech and actions accord with the interests of the broad masses and are supported by the broad masses. Our party, with basic Marxist theory as its guide, has always believed that the masses are the creators of history. Close reliance on the people is the source of our strength. The mass line firmly states that the creative ability of the masses is limitless, and so trusts the people and unites as one with them. In this way all difficulties can be overcome and all enemies defeated. In accepting the basic underlying principles of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, our party believes that the thoughts, opinions, plans, and methods of any heroic figure can only be the reflections of the objective world and can only come from the practice of the masses or from their own scientific experimentation. If we slight the practice of the masses and depart from it, then we cannot possibly attain even the most rudimentary knowledge, and the policies of our leadership organs and personnel will become "rivers without sources and trees without roots." If we do not understand the situation of those beneath us and simply take it for granted that we can put forth ideas and issue directives, then we will only carry out subjectivism and idealism, and will direct blindly and so be setting ourselves up for a fall.

The process of "from the masses" is actually the process of investigating and studying, the process, based on the foundation of practice, in which perceptual knowledge makes the jump to rational knowledge, the process of forming ideas and judgments, and the process of reasoning; the process of "to the masses" is the practice of turning theory around to lead the masses and of developing by passing through tests in practice. For simple things, the process of cognition is completed by passing through these two stages. But the practical activities in which mankind engages in remaking the world are endless. So our knowledge must also pass through unending development. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized that all correct leadership must not only go "from the masses, to the masses," but must also "once again concentrate ideas from the masses, and once again go to

the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through." It is exactly within this process of ceaseless cyclical repetition that the wisdom of the leaders and the masses are merged and jointly increased. "The ideas become more correct, more vital, and richer each time," causing the line, principles and policies of the party to correspond better to objective reality, allowing us to lead the masses forward correctly and to remake the objective world more effectively. The great Thought of Mao Zedong, the correct line of the party, is a magnificent crystal formed in the collective struggle of the party and the people. It concentrates the wisdom of the masses, and yet exceeds the wisdom of the masses; it reflects practice, and yet exceeds practice. Because of this it possesses great vitality and has become an invincible ideological weapon.

In reviewing the 60 years since the founding of the party, the lessons learned in advancing along the twisting path of China's revolution and construction teach us that when the subjective is more in tune with the objective and the leaders and the masses are more united, than the party line will be more correct and the revolution and construction will be smoother, and that none of this can be separated from the serious implementation of the work method, "from the masses, to the masses"; on the contrary, if we look for reasons when the party line contains errors of the "left" or right, and the revolution encounters setbacks, we find that the subjective and the objective never correspond, theory and practice are not in accord, and that this is the inevitable consequence of separation from the masses. This is true for the work of a single area or the work of a single cadre. Because of this, the "from the masses, to the masses" line initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong is not an ordinary work method which can be ignored, but rather is the basic work method relating to the success and failure of our party's cause. It is also the dialectical materialist line of cognition to which we must adhere. If we want to thoroughly implement the mass line of the party, our leaders must discard haughty and bureaucratic airs. We must maintain a firm mass viewpoint and the attitude of being happy to be the elementary school pupils of the masses. If we do not keep the masses in mind, are indifferent to their distress, turn a deaf ear on their cries, and do not penetrate the masses, but rather place ourselves high above the masses, then it will be impossible to implement the mass line of the party.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" made the mass line one of the three basic aspects of the living spirit of Mao Zedong Thought. This has important meaning for our conscious support of the party's mass line, our close dependence on the masses, and our construction of a strong, modern, highly democratic, culturally advanced socialist nation in the coming historical period. In the past, we upheld the line, "from the masses, to the masses," and solved countless difficult and complicated problems of revolution and construction. In completing new, great historical tasks in the future, we will meet with even more complicated conditions and difficulties, and this makes it imperative that we unswervingly persevere in upholding this basic aspect. This is a fundamental matter concerning the success and failure of our cause. We must definitely do a good job of upholding the mass line in accordance with the spirit of the "resolution."

PARTY AND STATE

BRIBERY, EXTORTION IN BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 81 p 4

[Article: "It Is Necessary To Stop Bribery, Extortion and Other Unhealthy Trends"]

[Text] In its issue No 10 of 1981, PARTY STYLE AND PARTY DISCIPLINE [DANGJI YU DANGPENG], organ of the Central Commission for Inspection of Discipline, carried excerpts of two letters from party members, including one from Xin Qiushui [6580 4428 3055] of the Anhui Province Social Sciences Research Institute to the Anhui provincial party committee, dated February, along with an editor's note. The editor's note points out:

The facts reflected in these letters show that the improper practices of bribery and extortion by some grassroots cadres and enterprise personnel today have reached very serious proportions. Commissions for inspection of party discipline should pay adequate attention to this problem. At present, they should coordinate with associated departments in initiating a thorough investigation into these improper practices in the economic field and into political and ideological problems affecting party members. They should get a clear understanding of this situation, and propose remedial measures. In the process of helping party committees study and implement the "guiding Principles," they should strengthen the education of party members and cadres in policies and discipline. Those party members and cadres found guilty of violating party discipline and state law, giving and accepting bribes, or committing extortion must be dealt with seriously on a case-by-case basis. We must do good political and ideological work among party members and rectify the party's workstyle.

In his letter to the Anhui provincial party committee, Comrade Xin Qiushui said: The problematical practices of bribery and extortion by some middle and lower level cadres and rural grassroots cadres came to my attention during a survey of the rural economy in Chuxian and other prefectures early this year. This problem seems serious. It was reflected in the following statements by some comrades attending a small-scale investigation meeting which I called in Jiashan County.

Zhang Zhibin [1728 1807 2430], director of the county's Second Bureau of Light Industry, said: Giving gifts and bribes and backdoor dealings are common tactics for our enterprises to get material supplies and to promote the sales of unwanted products. Purchasers are on a shopping spree everywhere. Their jobs are to obtain enough raw materials "to feed their factories." For this purpose, they are allowed expenses for travel, gifts, shipping and entertainment which are so large that they astonish everyone. In the first 45 days of this year alone, the Second Bureau of Light Industry spent more than 10,000 yuan on entertainment, in addition to expenses for gifts used to bribe people. During this same period, the handicraft plant in the county spent more than 4,000 yuan on gifts. To promote the sales of unwanted products also calls for giving gifts and bribes. The Jianshan County Handicraft Plant displayed a lot of unwanted products, including embroidered quilt covers, at the 1979 National Handicraft Trade Fair held in Guizhou. Because it presented a large quantity of peanuts as gifts at the trade fair, it sold more than 3,000 quilt covers, compared with more than 600 superior quality quilt covers sold at the Wuhu pavilion. Giving parties and gifts must be done with great thought and care. People ranging from leaders of some units to their administrative assistants must be listed one by one for parties or for receiving gifts. One oversight may spoil the whole thing. A large number of secondary guests must be considered and invited to any party in addition to the principal. As a result, the "guiding principles" have become a scrap of paper. I am a Communist Party member. Although I feel ashamed to be doing such things, I have no other option open to me. Without raw materials, my plant will have to close down and its workers and their families will starve. I have repeatedly suggested to the county party committee that it transfer me to some other post or make people assume the directorship of the Second Bureau of Light Industry on a rotational basis so that "I won't be the only person who will feel guilty of being a party to a bribery of extraordinary magnitude."

Kan Ke Rang [7074 0344 6245], director of the Jiashan County Handicraft Plant, said: Giving gifts and bribes and backdoor dealings constitute an important link in the operation of our enterprises. Although such improprieties have been cursed by all of us, none of us has had the guts to reject these practices. Last year when I went to the Zhengzhou, Henan, Textile Machinery Plant to buy a specific category of spare parts, its production manager first told me that no such parts were available, and then asked: What famous products are manufactured in your native place? I showed him three embroidered quilt covers. He took them over to his table, picked up a brush, scribbled a few words on a piece of paper and handed it to me, saying: Now I want to sell three packages of parts originally prepared for delivery to another customer. But when I went to the warehouse with the note, the keeper there would not give them to me, insisting that he could not break his promise to another customer. He did not change his mind despite an argument he had with the production manager. The production manager had no choice but to write a letter introducing me to the Changwei Prefecture Textile Machinery Plant, Shandong, so that I could get the parts there. Through negotiations, the man who handled my order first promised delivery sometime in July 1981. When I asked whether he could deliver it earlier, he asked: Is your place known for tea? I said: I didn't bring any tea but I have on hand a few embroidered quilt covers; are you interested? He was delighted to see these covers. After reaching into his pocket for cash, he said he forgot to bring

any money with him that day but he promised to pay me another time. After taking the quilt covers, he immediately changed the date of delivery to near the end of 1980. When the time came for me to pick up the order, I brought along 4 jin of tea as gifts so that I could ship the parts home without any hitch.

Hu Qingshi [5170 7230 1102], purchaser of the Jiashan County Handicraft Plant, said: We purchasers can achieve nothing if we disregard these improper practices. When you give gifts and bribes to somebody, you have to cover it up and keep your mouth shut. No one involved dares to talk about it. Nor does anyone dare to expose it or write an article on this matter for publication. If you do, it means that you have broken all connections with them and you can never expect them to sell anything to you again, not to mention that you yourself are liable to be punished. Hu Qingshi added: Commodities that change hands on the market may also have to go through backdoor dealings. The same is true of the supplies distributed under the state plans. You cannot get them without bribing the suppliers with some gifts. An example was the distribution of 2 tons of manmade silk to my plant in 1980 under the state plan, which was to be supplied by the "Huadong Light Industry Supply Department of the Ministry of Light Industry." This department was unwilling to deliver them to us despite the distribution order and despite two trips we made at the expense of our plant. On a third trip, we brought along 5 brocade bedspreads, 2 embroidered quilt covers and 20 jin of peanuts. This trip was successful. The man who handled our order whipped out 15 yuan after taking the gifts valued at more than 90 yuan. Finally, we took only 10 yuan from him. It was in this manner that we brought the deal to a successful conclusion.

In his letter to the Anhui provincial party committee, Xin Qiushui said: These statements vividly testify to the fact that the practice of giving gifts and bribes has had a very bad effect on society. If this tendency is not reversed, how can we accomplish the four modernizations and implement the "guiding principles"? His suggestions to the provincial party committee were as follows: Measures should be taken to deal blows to and stop those improper practices. The party must gather information and grasp typical examples to educate the entire party membership. Party discipline and state laws must be invoked to punish those who break them and who accept and give bribes.

9574

CSO: 4005/772

PARTY AND STATE

LOCAL PARTY LEADER DISMISSED ON CHARGE ABUSING POWER

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 81 p 4

[Letter from a reader: "Resolutely Rectify Unhealthy Practices"]

[Text] On 18 July, RENMIN RIBAO carried this news report: In accordance with the recommendations of the Hunan Province Commission for Inspection of Discipline, the Hunan provincial party committee has dismissed Li Fengzhou [2621 7685 3166], deputy secretary of the Linxiang County party committee, Hunan Province, from all posts within the party, and has suggested that departments concerned dismiss him from all posts outside the party for illegally moving 28 of his relatives from the countryside to the city, thus causing damage to the interests of the state and of collectives. The provincial party committee has also ordered Li Fengzhou to cancel the unauthorized movement of households from the countryside to the city, which betray the public trust, to return all illegally recruited personnel to the countryside, and to reimburse the state, collectives and the masses for their economic losses caused by his action.

The people are delighted to read this news, and also highly praise the Hunan provincial party committee for taking such a conscientious and serious attitude against violators of party discipline and state law and for correcting unhealthy tendencies.

As far as I know, this situation resulting from the abuse of power by cadres and from their illegal action to move their children from the countryside to the cities and then place them in positions with government organizations, enterprises and establishments exists more or less everywhere in the country. Such behavior is detested by the masses. This is also an important factor that has caused the overstaffing of some enterprises and establishments, inefficiency in their work and losses in their financial operations. I hope that erring comrades will consciously and voluntarily persuade the children and relatives they have illegally placed in positions with government organizations, enterprises and establishments to quit and go home. Cadres living in cities with children now on the waiting list for employment must observe the regulations of the personnel and labor departments and follow the normal procedures in getting jobs for their children. They should refrain from using their authority and special privileges to achieve this purpose. All their children who have been illegally placed in jobs should be persuaded to quit by their parents. All comrades who

acknowledge and decide to correct their mistakes are good comrades and will receive commendations from the masses.

I hope that the party committees at all levels will emulate the example of the Hunan provincial party committee by resolutely rectifying their unhealthy work-style.

9574

CSO: 4005/772

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI PARTY ORGANS STRENGTHEN LEADERSHIP OVER CYL

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 81 p 1

[Text] The party organization at all levels of this province is effectively strengthening its leadership over the Communist Youth League and is considering its activities in youth work as one of its strategic tasks. Recently, the party committees in various localities, municipalities and counties called meetings of its standing committees, enlarged standing committees and leading cadres in the departments concerned for a joint analysis of the conditions of youth work in our area and for a study of concrete measures to implement the directive "On Certain Questions in Connection with the Strengthening of CYL Work," issued by the provincial party committee.

In order to further strengthen the leadership of the party in youth work, each of the party committees at the various levels has designated one secretary or deputy secretary to be particularly in charge of CYL work. A number of leading cadres of the party furthermore personally inspected and studied the CYL work and rendered guidance. The leading comrades in the party committee of Engineering Bureau 330 earnestly listened to the report of the CYL party committee, checked its work and made certain concrete demands. On receiving the work report from the CYL, Comrade Wang Qinggui [3769 3237 6311], first secretary of the Xiangfan municipal party committee, formulated concrete measures to solve problems prevailing in youth work. The municipal party committees of Huangshi and Shashi carried out certain readjustments in the leadership teams of its youth leagues, adding new members and selecting as responsible committee members some young comrades who had been party committee members before and have had a certain amount of practical experience. In 13 counties and municipalities of Jingzhou district, meetings of league representatives are under way to elect new leadership teams for the CYL. In view of the rapid changes of CYL cadres and the great number of new cadres required, the nurturing, training and raising of CYL cadres is being taken in hand by many local and municipal party committees as work not to be treated lightly. The party schools at all levels one after another arrange for CYL cadres to study in a planned way. Many units have training take the place of meetings and run short-term training classes or arrange for CYL cadres to study at sparetime, evening or television universities to assist them in raising the level of their cultural and scientific knowledge and their professional skills.

In working for a stronger leadership over the CYL, the party organizations at all levels are paying the closest attention to arousing the concern of all the different quarters of society so as to have them support the work among the young people. The organizations are furthermore making serious efforts to give the greatest attention to ideology, to be effective organizationally, to be supportive in actual work and full of concern for the livelihood of the young people. In Yichang the party organization of the Electrical Manufacturing Company and other units mobilized party, administrative, factory, youth league, propaganda and educational departments to launch discussions on youth work, thus gaining a better understanding of the direct influence on the attitude of the young people exercised by the social environment, family conditions and other quarters, and an understanding also of how the successful education and nurturing of our youths is only possible under the leadership of the party committees with the cooperation of everyone else in the joint effort of a total war. At a meeting of three levels of its cadres, the party committee of Wuchang County had the cadres of the CYL explain to the meeting the problems that exist among youth throughout the country and submitted suggestions to deal effectively with youth work, consciously concerned itself with the education of youth and accomplished certain work which will facilitate the studies and work of youth and enhance their livelihood. The motion picture companies, publishing houses, cultural bureaus, etc, in many localities and municipalities took realistic measures to provide spiritual nourishment and better material conditions for a healthy development of youth and thus contributed to our efforts to raise a generation of young people who will be a good communist successor generation, both red and expert.

8453

CSO: 4005/767

PARTY AND STATE

RECTIFICATION OF MISCOMPREHENSION OF MAO THOUGHT URGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 81 p 1

Commentary: "Thoroughly Study Documents"⁷

Text⁷ Leading cadres at all levels and party members and other cadres throughout Zhejiang Province have mounted a campaign to study the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum in conjunction with its communique and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the CCP founding. Various localities unanimously reported: The "Resolution" has become a popular subject of conscientious study and lively debate which is instrumental in inspiring the people to think and in cheering up their spirit. Leading cadres at all levels must emphasize particularly the need to study thoroughly these documents in order to make this study campaign more fruitful.

The "Resolution" is an important historical document pervaded with the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, an important basis upon which our party and state can distinguish right from wrong, and an important weapon with which we can make progress, and unite as one to carry on our cause and forge ahead. The "Resolution" is very rich in content and highly inspirational. As far as we know, there is no short-cut to the thorough understanding of this important historical document. A thorough reading of it is the only step toward achieving a gradual understanding of its key points and essence. Leading cadres who want to play a leading role in studying this "Resolution," who want to bring their thinking into line with its basic conclusions and who want to convey the "Resolution" to the masses, must read it thoroughly. It is unlikely to comprehend the "Resolution" and much less to meet the objective and requirements of this study campaign proposed by the party Central Committee unless everyone studies it thoroughly.

A primary task is to carry forward our party's excellent tradition to read its documents thoroughly. The documents of the party Central Committee concentrate the wisdom of the entire party and represent its will. These are documents whose carefully worded contents are works of thoughtful minds. Practice proves that comrades who can read these documents thoroughly will have no difficulty in roundly and accurately comprehending their essence and will be able to implement the documents properly with remarkable success; otherwise, they will have trouble fully appreciating the documents. They will even miscomprehend their essence, and will deviate from the correct course with bad consequences during their implementation. Early in this year, we also started a campaign to study the party's documents. During the campaign, in order to

prevent the recurrence of the old problems which resulted from the study of its documents, the party Central Committee emphasized the need to study them seriously while appealing to comrades to make conscientious efforts to comprehend their essence. Consequently, a fine style of study prevailed, and the conscientious efforts by comrades to read the documents paid off and reaped rich fruits. During the current campaign to study the "Resolution," we must carry forward this excellent tradition and study style and persist in concentrating our energy on reading the documents thoroughly, and painstakingly.

Reading documents thoroughly means studying their texts sentence by sentence and paragraph by paragraph until everyone can firmly grasp their essence. No one should turn study sessions into random talks. Nor should anything be brought up for discussion that has nothing to do with the subject matter. When the "Resolution" is studied and discussed, we must focus our attention on the following major joints: We must evaluate realistically and appropriately the issues of right and wrong and the achievements and mistakes of the past 32 years following the founding of the PRC, make conscientious efforts to sum up positive and negative experiences and draw lessons from them so that we can turn them into invaluable assets which will guide us as we forge ahead. We must evaluate accurately the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought so that we can uphold Mao Zedong Thought in a better way in the days ahead. We must unify our thinking, and unite as one to look forward and to implement more consciously the line, principles and policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee. We must strengthen and improve party leadership, and strengthen the ideological and organizational building of the party, demonstrate the spirit with which to climb Mount Taishan, and effectively devote our energy to building our economy and spiritual civilization. We must grasp these key points as steps in the right direction of reading documents thoroughly and as the theme of our study and discussion.

Should the thorough reading of documents be integrated with reality? Yes. The principle of integrating theory with practice is one of our party's three major work styles. However, we must make it unequivocally clear: The objective of integrating the thorough study of documents with reality is to deepen our understanding of these documents and to comprehend better their essence. For example, some comrades have been able to integrate their thorough study of documents with what they actually have in mind; in order to prove that the points contained in the "Resolution" are correct, they have drawn a contrast between their past and present attitude toward these points. There are also some comrades who have graphically presented hard facts along with their experiences in work in order to prove that everything included in the "Resolution" conforms to objective reality and is a vivid reflection of dialectical and historical materialism. Integrating study with reality this way is very helpful in studying documents well. In this connection, attention must also be paid to the emergence of the following two possible situations: 1) Some comrades may be unwilling to study documents conscientiously. After going over them roughly once or twice, they may hastily jump to a conclusion on some specific problems and keep on talking incoherently about them. In the end, they will swallow everything without digesting it, pay attention to peripheral issues instead of the major ones, and make their efforts in study fruitless. 2) Instead of making conscientious efforts to grasp the essence of documents, they get entangled in minor historical issues or engage in disputes over specific historical issues of right and wrong in specific localities and units. This approach to the integration of study with reality is clearly wrong.

Reading documents thoroughly calls for displaying a tenacious spirit of devotion to research. We must reject lazy souls unwilling to think and encourage comrades to start up the machinery. Whether one has studied documents thoroughly is not determined by how many times one has gone over them. The key to success in this study lies in painstaking devotion to research. We must be able to see that many major historical events and many major theoretical issues contained in the "Resolution" were distorted beyond recognition by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and some of them have long been construed by some people as Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Today, we must draw a line between right and wrong, point out those past misconceptions and know how to take measures to rectify them. To achieve a clear understanding of these matters calls for painstaking devotion to research. Some major theoretical issues call for research on original works by Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong and scientific analysis.

In short, we must study painstakingly, conduct in-depth research, and keep our thinking and research process going in the direction of taking reality into account until we fully comprehend the "Resolution" and truly convert it into our own assets. Only thus can we achieve a great leap forward on the ideological front, raise the level of our political consciousness, radically rectify our work style, and make a great breakthrough in work and a greater contribution to the party and people.

9574

CSO: 4005/799

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY SCHOOL IN GUANGDONG STUDIES RESOLUTION ON MAO

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by Li Ruqing [2621 3067 7230]: "Evaluation of Chairman Mao Wins the Hearts of the Party and the People; Provincial Party Committee and Party Schools, Rotating Training Class Participants Discuss Understanding Gained From Study of the 'Resolution'"]

[Text] The more than 300 cadres from all over the province who participated in the first session of the rotation training class for cadres of county and higher ranks, organized by the provincial party committee and the party schools, specially allotted 11 days before winding up their 4 and 1/2 months of theory studies to an earnest study of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." All were agreed that the "resolution" was an extremely valuable, high-level, historical document. It expresses everyone's heartfelt thoughts and sentiments as it sums up the historical experiences of the party since the foundation of the PRC and in its objective, just and realistic evaluation of Chairman Mao Zedong.

The participants in the study were men of long struggle experience; many comrades had joined the revolution during the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. In looking back over their own personal experiences, they had deep feelings of gratitude for the great achievements of Chairman Mao, achievements that greatly benefited the Chinese people and that can never be obliterated; he will always be the great leader and teacher of the Chinese people.

The evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and of Mao Zedong Thought, as given in the "resolution," is deeply appreciated by the party and the people and is completely in line with the basic interests of the party. All agreed that Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought are inseparable from the entire history of our party. The correct evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and upholding the banner of Mao Zedong Thought are actually affirmations of our party's glorious history and vindications of the lofty image of our party and of the People's Republic. On this important question we must certainly maintain a serene and prudent attitude and not allow ourselves to be swayed by our emotions. Some comrades said: At the beginning of our studies, everyone still had somewhat confused ideas and different opinions on the history since the founding of the PRC and on the evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong. The publication of the "resolution" clarifies right and wrong, unifies our thinking and brings stability to China, with implications all over the world.

In these studies everyone came to agree that Comrade Mao Zedong, like any other great historical personality, has had his shortcomings and mistakes. However, the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong were after all the mistakes committed by a great proletarian revolutionary. Several comrades said the "resolution" uses historical materialism in its analysis of the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years and points out the subjective elements, his becoming divorced from the masses and from reality, and also analyzes the social and historical reasons that caused these mistakes to occur. This will enable the whole party to properly absorb the historical experiences and lessons and will serve as a warning for all future times.

In the past, some comrades felt it emotionally difficult to hear about Comrade Mao Zedong having committed mistakes. After studying the "resolution," they admit that this kind of attitude and sentiment, although understandable, cannot stand in the way of scientific analysis and that it is also not in conformity with objective reality. If we do not admit realistically that Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his later years and do not differentiate between these mistakes and the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought, we would quite possibly persist in the various mistaken viewpoints of Comrade Mao Zedong. This would be detrimental to the emancipation of our minds, to the rectification of "leftist" mistakes and to the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenum.

Everyone was agreed that the "resolution" gives a scientific account of the principal content of Mao Zedong Thought and the three basic points that constitute its life and soul, thus raising everyone's conception of Mao Zedong Thought to new heights. Many comrades expressed the opinion that from now on, upholding the banner of Mao Zedong Thought demands of us as an important condition that we resolutely implement the 10 "important points" of our correct path toward socialist construction, as outlined in the "resolution." Firmly upholding these 10 points is nothing else but firmly upholding Mao Zedong Thought. Going against these 10 points is going against Mao Zedong Thought. We are unswerving in our determination to develop as rapidly as possible our social production force, regarding economic construction as the core of our efforts, and thus to gradually raise the level of livelihood of the masses in order to demonstrate even more effectively the power of Mao Zedong Thought.

8452

CSO: 4005/767

PARTY AND STATE

'SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITION' ARTICLES ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

Beijing DUCHU [READING] in Chinese No 5, 10 May 81 pp 38-44

[Article by He Xin [0149 2450]: "A Leaf from the Storm of Our Era--After Reading the Collection of Essays 'Science and Superstition'"]

I.

[Excerpt] Let us look back at the so-called "great cultural revolution." How devoid of historical sense it was as a movement! The political situation, personalities, and theories all changed constantly, like revolving paper figures in a lighted lantern. One solemn declaration after another became wastepaper overnight; for 10 whole years one fleeting historical scene after another puzzled 1 billion of the world's universally recognized abundantly intelligent people. But finally, "after this disaster, the Chinese people understood many truths from pain" ("Historical Initiatives and Historical Limitations"). History taught people to understand historical sense. Please read the collection of essays by Li Honglin [2621 3163 2651] entitled "Science and Superstition"; it is precisely such a good book which enlightens people with a historical sense.

II.

This collection includes 24 articles and a parable. These articles are the reflections and explorations of a communist with a sense of responsibility toward the future and destiny of the party, the state, and the nation, who has done his thinking about the pain of the 10-year catastrophe after the pain stopped. Frankly speaking, insofar as the scholarly value, i. e., the scientific integrity and theoretical depth, is concerned, these articles are not without blemishes. But as products of our very own era, these articles still have some special value. They have recorded a leaf from the storm of our era, and they rattle with the sounds of the pounding waves of an ideological liberation movement. Please recall the situation of 10,000 horses standing mute in China's ideological and theoretical circles before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Many articles included in this collection bathed in the spring wind of the Third Plenary Session's emancipation of our thinking; what a thunderous ear-piercing role they played at the time!

Particularly noteworthy are those articles in the collection on adherence to the four basic principles. It is not difficult for anyone who is sharp enough to

observe the current situation to see that, in the present political, economic, cultural and ideological realms, a series of manifestations indicate that we have already entered a very great and important era in China's modern history. The roar of the tides of change continues to hurl at the door of our era. Almost in no realm can we fail to see the looming buds of new things which are strenuously breaking through the hard crust of the earth, or to see the new trends' impact on, and challenge to, the old things. But precisely at this time of change and turn, apart from the main current of the movement which actively follows the inevitable path of history, certain subversive ramifications also appeared. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, one trend often covered up another trend. While the trend of "whateverism" in insisting on "being faithful to every word and every sentence" was subjected to criticism, there also appeared at the same time the erroneous trend of wavering regarding the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and becoming skeptical about the "four adherences." What was valuable was that precisely when this kind of trend raised its head, Comrade Li Honglin immediately wrote articles on resolutely maintaining the "four adherences" that also explained what kind of "four adherences" we should maintain, and thereby consciously resisted erroneous trends from both the left and the right. When we look back at the political trends of the past few years, we can see that certain people who have not drawn a clear demarcation with leftist trends in their thinking always attempt to put the "four adherences" in opposition to the principles of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Actually, there is no contradiction between the "four adherences" and the principles of the Third Plenary Session; only by adhering to the four basic principles can we better criticize the sham Marxism, the sham socialism and feudal, fascist autocracy of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." And in the several articles included in this collection, Comrade Li Honglin has made profound analyses as to what kind of "four adherences" we should really maintain.

In the article "To What Kind of Party Leadership Do We Adhere," the author points out: The question of party leadership arises from history and must be solved in history. "There is no absolute authority in the world; nor is there natural leadership in the world. Any leadership comes from struggle and practice and must continue to be tested in practice." "On this land of China, there have been diverse political forces competing with one another during the past hundred years and more. They either served as leaders or tried very hard to become leaders. As shown in practice, only the Communist Party could lead the Chinese people to emerge from suffering." The Chinese Communist Party secured the support of the masses of the people and became the leader only by relying—as it could only rely—on its own correct program and line and acting through the heroic struggle and exemplary conduct of the vast ranks of the party members and cadres. Discourses such as these contain a very profound historical perception—that is, the people always choose, recognize and test their own leaders through historical practice. It was precisely through many years of practice that the Chinese people came full to perceive that only the Communist Party could save China. Hence, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is not subject to skepticism. On the other hand, proceeding from this understanding, precisely because we really adhere to party leadership, so we must continue to improve party leadership. The article also offers succinct discussions on such points as that we need to strengthen the party's political leadership and not administrative

leadership, that we adhere to collective leadership and not individual leadership, etc.

In "To What Kind of Socialism Do We Adhere," the author even more profoundly points out that while various kinds of "socialism" have existed in the world, ranging from Hitler's state socialism to the feudal, fascist socialism of Lin Biao and "gang of four," the socialism we adhere to is not all those socialisms but can only be the scientific socialism of Marx. And we can really adhere to this scientific socialism only by exposing and struggling against sham socialisms that display the signboard of "socialism." These views are all dialectical and profound. But certain people who have been anguished by the movement to emancipate our thinking during the past few years may blame this collection of articles as a heretical work that serves to confuse people's thinking. This does not matter very much, because the truth of a view, an idea or a cultural trend is not determined by whether or not a certain kind of people or certain people agree with it; it is ultimately tested in practice and through historical development. Actually, in order to understand the profound and far-reaching significance of this ideological liberation movement in modern Chinese history, it is not enough just to look at current realities; we must look back at the whole modern history.

When the British knocked open the obstructive and seclusive door of ancient China with their cannons in the 19th century, China immediately entered into a historical movement oriented toward awakening the nation and strengthening it by making relevant changes. It has not stopped even to this day. The task and the goal has always been one--that is, to change China's backward state in relation to the advanced world in the economic, political, cultural and military aspects, and build a prosperous, civilized and advanced New China. For the sake of finding a path of modernization, for the sake of casting off the humiliating and miserable national status into which the country had fallen because of backwardness, countless advanced Chinese ranging from Kang Youwei and Sun Yat-sen, to Lu Xun and Mao Zedong bared their guts and shed their blood; in countless, undaunted sacrifices and struggles for over 100 years, the Chinese people walked along a path paved by blood and fire. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 declared to the whole world that the Chinese people have now stood up. We have really achieved a very great victory. We have driven away the imperialists. We have realized something unprecedented in Chinese history: the unity of 1 billion people and more than 100 nationalities. We have established the new economic and political system, socialism. We have swept away many backward and abnormal feudal, colonial, old cultural forms and raised the embers of a new socialist culture. All these victories have laid a broad and deep foundation for the revival of the Chinese nation. These conspicuous achievements cannot be denied even by our enemies. But these victories also created historical illusions for some people, whereby the point of departure came to be regarded as the destination. China became once more regarded as the "center of revolution" around which the whole world revolved--the "central state." The victories achieved were inappropriately exaggerated, but the formidable exertion that still had to be made in order to really march toward state prosperity and national revival was overlooked. The peaks of such historical mistakes were the "great leap forward" and the "great cultural revolution," which were once taken as unprecedented historical beginnings. But history is not sentimental. The violation of dialectics cannot

but be punished. When all empty talk dissipated like ephemeral clouds, when the Chinese people opened their eyes to look at the world for the second time in modern history, we finally painfully discovered that we were backward. We really wasted so much time, wealth, energy, and also people in fantasy, superstition, and wanton exaggeration. Why would we fall into such serious, historical blunders? Where did we slip?

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, along with the launching of the discussion on the criterion for testing truth, the ideological taboo areas inhibited for many years were broken through one after another; ideological and theoretical circles began to thrive exuberantly, the spring tide began to surge forward vigorously, there appeared a scene of liveliness not witnessed for a long time. This was what people have called the ideological liberation movement. Supporters have been pleased and encouraged. Opponents have been worried and disheartened. But the reason why this movement has been so full of vitality is because it is different from any other movement since liberation; it was not artificially started. On the contrary, this historical movement originated from a series of fundamental questions faced by our nation, and it was in search of the answers and solutions to these questions that it rose to the occasion. This movement is not going to last just for a day, or for a few months or a few years. It is going to extend to several decades and affect several generations. In essence, this movement is irresistible, because it reflects history's inevitable needs. If it encounters obstacles, it will merely become an undercurrent, but it will definitely not be stopped. Looking at China's modern history, we see that several great ideological liberation movements took place in the past 100 years, and all of them achieved great results. One took place around the time of the 1898 reform. The orthodox classics of Confucius and Mencius were then subject to skepticism by reformers for the first time, whereas "Western learning" or new learning was introduced to China. People's historical vision was widened. The Chinese realized for the first time that a social system without emperor--that is, a "ruler-father," was possible. The upshot of this ideological liberation movement was that the 1911 revolution overthrew the emperor. Another was around the time of the 4 May movement. Heroic ideological revolutionary pioneers like Lu Xun, Chang Duxu, and Li Dazhao toppled the old castle of a 2,000-year feudal culture with an overpowering offensive, and thereby laid the foundation for modern China's new science and new culture. Thereafter followed the spread of Marxism in China and the establishment of the Communist Party. The new tide of ideological liberation thus surged forward fiercely with an irresistible momentum. The triumph of New Democracy and the founding of New China in 1949 were both great achievements of that ideological liberation movement. We can learn about the present by looking at the past. If we can say that without the ideological liberation since the 4 May movement there could not have been the modern New China, and without the renaissance and the enlightenment movement there would not have been the modern European and American world, then we can also make such a comparison: that this new ideological liberation movement, which began with the "5 April" movement of 1976, was affirmed by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and will continue for several decades on a tortuous road, is bound to lay a grand new intellectual, cultural, and ideological foundation for a modern socialist New China economically, politically and culturally in the world's foremost ranks with an advanced democracy and an advanced civilization.

III.

Historically speaking, China's intrinsic culture had a universally known traditional inertia. Therefore, all China's reforms have been very difficult undertakings, and almost every step forward required struggle. This collection of articles "Science and Superstition" also reflects from the sideline such struggle on the ideological and theoretical front during the past 3 or 4 years.

The last article in this collection is an "old story in a new edition" with profound implications. It is entitled "Who Really Understood the Divine Farmer." This story tells the tale of how Li Shizhen had a label attached to him by the emperor's imperial hospital and was almost beaten with a stick because he revised the "Divine Farmer's Herb Medicine Classic" of ancestral days. But what is even more interesting is that, as the author tells us, after the story was published, immediately someone wrote to the newspaper office to express the wish to grab a bunch of poisonous weeds, and, among others, his list included precisely "Who Really Understood the Divine Farmer"--this may be really said to be a case of "current expose, current retribution!"

Actually, according to the poisonous weeds categorizing standards of the "gang of four" or the two "whateverists," there should have been far more than one article in this collection which could be designated as a "poisonous weed." Therefore, I recommend that when the reader reads this collection, he should not overlook the "appendixes" at the end of many articles. Certain perceptions revealed in those appendixes are very funny; sometimes one can hardly keep from laughing. Even a view which now seems very ordinary would cause much skepticism and blame at the time. We need not blame other people's reproach, of course; what is needed is that from this we can understand what a formidable task it always is to return to order from disorder on ideological and theoretical questions!

We are situated right now at a very important period of development in China's modern history. The Central Work Conference convened not long ago decided on the principles of further readjustment in our economy and further political stability. In order to overcome the many difficulties we face and in order to solve the many important questions history has put to us, it is necessary to carry out renewed learning and study of Marxist theories. Correct theories are the scientific basis for formulating lines. Historically speaking, because of a lack of theoretical preparedness, our party has gotten the worst of it both in the stage of the democratic revolution or in the stage of socialist construction. In this process of renewed learning, it is probably beneficial to read this collection "Science and Superstition" by Comrade Li Honglin, and to look back at the ideological liberation movement during the past 3 years, for the sake of absorbing historical experience and to avoid following the same fallen historical path.

16 February 1981

("Science and Superstition," by Li Honglin, Tianjin People's Publishing House, September 1980, first edition, 0.74 yuan)

PARTY AND STATE

LIFE OF FIRST ENVOY TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES RECOUNTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul p 5

[Article by Wang Sizhi [3769 1835 3112]: "Zhang Qian [1728 7505] Blazes a Trail to the West"]

[Text] Zhang Qian, an outstanding diplomat of ancient China, was the first to blaze a trail to the regions west of China. Both Sima Qian [0674 7456 6692] and Ban Gu [3803 0942] praised Zhang Qian, saying: His mission was to "hack a way out of an impasse," meaning that the road to the regions west of China cleared by Zhang Qian for the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty to establish relations with countries there was full of treacherous hazards and dangers.

The term "regions west of China" was first mentioned by people of the Western Han Dynasty. It mainly referred to China's Xinjiang region, central and western Asia and northeast Africa. At that time, the Huns, one of China's minority nationalities, grew so strong that they were able to control a large portion of Xinjiang and to constantly challenge the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty in the Central Plains.

In 140 B.C., Liu Che ascended to the throne, proclaiming himself Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. Following six or seven decades of rejuvenation and development of socioeconomic programs, the power wielded by the Kingdom of the Western Han Dynasty grew incredibly strong. It was determined to remove the long-existing threat to the Central Plains posed by the Huns. Shortly after Emperor Wu learned from defectors from the Huns inhabitants of the state of Dayueshi (or Darouzh), originally living along today's corridor west of the Yellow River, quit the area and fled westward after suffering defeat at the hands of the Huns, his government decided to contact the state of Dayeushi for a possible alliance in the struggle against the Huns. At the same time, it was also determined to open a caravan route to the regions west of China in order to establish trade relations with countries near and beyond its borders and to meet the needs for the development of socioeconomic programs in the Kingdom of the Western Han Dynasty. It was under such circumstances that a decision was made to send envoys to the regions west of China. Since the route to the regions west of China had to pass through areas controlled by the Huns and was full of danger, the government of the Han Dynasty had to "recruit people really capable of doing this job." In the end, a man named Zhang Qian, a native of Hanzhong, came forward and applied for the job.

In the third year of the Jianyuan reign (138 B.C.), Zhang Qian was named an envoy of the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty and head of a more than 100-man delegation to the regions west of China with the mission of establishing contact with the state of Dayeushi. However, no sooner had he set foot into Longxi than he was captured by the Huns and held captive for the next 10 years. But during this period of captivity, he "never gave up his title as the envoy of the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty under duress" and never deserted his own country. When days ran into months and months ran into years, his captors gradually relaxed their watch and security measures, thus enabling him and his followers to escape and continue their journey westward until they arrived in the state of Dayueshi. After scaling the Congling Mountain Range, they arrived in Dawan (part of today's Soviet territory which was under the jurisdiction of the Western Regional Garrison Authority of the Western Han Dynasty). The king of Dawan knew of the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty as an affluent nation of long ago but he knew of "no way to establish relations with it." When he saw Zhang Qian, he was delighted and later sent guards and interpreters to accompany him to Kangju (today's Tashkent in the USSR). The king of Kangju also sent guards to accompany Zhang Qian to the state of Dayueshi (on the upper stream of the Amu River in the northern part of today's Afghanistan). The Kingdom of Dayueshi had been relocated along the Gui River (today's Amu River) after defeating the state of Daxia (northern part of today's Afghanistan), which, according to the "Book of Han, Chapter: Autobiography of Zhang Qian," was more than 11,000 li away from the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty. Knowing that the two kingdoms were too far apart, the king of Dayueshi lost interest in taking revenge on the Huns. After more than 1 year's stay in Dayueshi, Zhang Qian left for Daxia. Because his mission to establish an alliance with the state of Dayueshi proved unfruitful, he decided to return to his motherland. While on his way home, he was recaptured by the Huns. A year later, a civil war broke out among the Huns, thus enabling Zhang Qian to escape and return home, after spending more than 13 years abroad. When he left, he was accompanied by more than 100 persons. But on the day of his return, his entourage was reduced to one man. During the trip out and back, he and his followers encountered countless dangers. Occasionally they had to shoot beasts and birds for food. After returning to Changan, Zhang Qian submitted a report to Emperor Wu on his trip, saying: "I personally visited Dawan, Dayueshi, Daxia, and Kangju, and while there I was told that there are five or six countries adjacent to their borders," which included Wusun (southeast of Lake Balkhash, which was under the jurisdiction of the Western Regional Garrison Authority of the Han Dynasty), Yancai (at the northeastern tip of the Caspian Sea), Tiaozhi (today's Arabian Peninsula), and Anxi (Persia or today's Iran). He also discussed in his report the cultures, customs, products, economies and political and economic situations in the countries he visited. Zhang Qian's report was included in the "Historical Records, Chapter: An Account of Dawan." Particularly noteworthy is this statement by Zhang Qian: "When I was in Daxia, I saw bamboo sticks and clothes from Sichuan. I asked people there: How did you get such things? The people in the state of Daxia said: Our businessmen got them from India." This shows that at that time, commodities produced in Sichuan were exported to countries as far away as India and Afghanistan. This was another caravan route from China to Central Asia during the Western Han Dynasty. In their reports on China, scholars in ancient Greece and Rome also mentioned the Chinese business trade in silk which was exported to Italy's Rome through India.

After Zhang Qian reported to Emperor Wu that he saw clothes from Sichuan in Daxia, his majesty tried to open a caravan route from southwest China to Daxia via India, but was unsuccessful. Therefore, he had to send Zhang Qian to the regions west of China for a second time. By then, the situation there had undergone radical changes. The state of Wusun, originally an appendage of the Huns, gradually grew strong and defeated the state of Dayueshi, whose inhabitants were forced to flee farther to the west. After taking over the domain along the Ili River from Dayueshi, the state of Wusun "refused to pay further tribute to the Huns." As a result, a confrontation between Wusun and the Huns developed. Later, the Huns launched a series of offensives against the state of Wusun. On the basis of this changing situation, Zhang Qian came up with a farsighted foreign affairs proposal. Its key points called for "bribing Wusun with hard cash," establishing fraternal relations between the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty and the state of Wusun, selecting a princess to wed the crown prince of Wusun, and welcoming the people of Wusun to return to their original abode between the Qilian Mountains and Dunhuang in order to "cut an arm off the Huns." Another objective of an alliance with the state of Wusun was to "make all countries west of the state of Daxia vassal states of the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty." Emperor Wu adopted this proposal, naming Zhang Qian a general and chief envoy to the regions west of China. Accompanying him were many accredited envoys "who could be sent to other neighboring nations" as he saw fit. The huge delegation led by Zhang Qian consisted of more than 300 diplomats, each accompanied by two horses, large herds of cattle and sheep and carrying gold coins and silk valued at "hundreds of thousands of yuan" as gifts for entering into an alliance with the state of Wusun and other countries. After arriving in Wusun, Zhang Qian sent "envoys to Dawan, Kangju, Dayueshi, Daxia, Anxi, India, Yutian, Yushen and other neighboring countries" with the aim of widely establishing relations with central and western Asia and northeast Africa. But the unstable situation in the state of Wusun made its king hesitate to make any special commitment to Zhang Qian. After more than 1 year abroad, Zhang Qian returned home. Accompanying him on his homeward trip were scores of envoys sent by the state of Wusun whose visit to this vast Kingdom of the Han Dynasty resulted in a relationship in which the "people of Wusun paid greater tribute to the Han Dynasty." Zhang Qian died shortly after returning to Changan. Later, envoys he sent to other countries also accompanied envoys of their respective host countries to Changan one after another, thus "enabling the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty to establish direct communication with countries northwest of China."

Historical records describe Zhang Qian as "a man of stamina, magnanimity, and trustworthiness loved by barbarians," a contemptuous term Zhang Qian hated to use. Thus, Zhang Qian's formidable fortitude and indomitable spirit were assets which helped him fulfill all assignments irrespective of dangers and difficulties. He was also known for his unassuming personality and for being approachable to people, a personality which enabled him to win the trust of the countries west of China through mutual contact. From then on, "all envoys who followed in his footsteps to the regions west of China were called Duke Bowan (an honor awarded to Zhang Qian posthumously) so that they could win the trust of other countries as Zhang Qian did." In the days following, the government of the Han Dynasty continued to send envoys on the trail blazed by Zhang Qian, whose number ranged from "hundreds to at least a hundred" each year. These huge diplomatic delegations were accompanied by large herds of cattle and sheep and large

quantities of silk just as they were in Zhang Qian's time. They were called diplomatic delegations as well as caravans of traders "who must carry a lot of commodities for sale for income to meet their daily demands."

At that time, "the number of envoys sent out each year ranged from a dozen to five or six. Their tour of duty varied from 9 years for those who were stationed in remote countries to a few years for those who worked in countries near China. "Foreign envoys to the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty also changed frequently." Such exchanges of diplomatic delegations were instrumental in strengthening the political and economic relations between Xinjiang and the Central Plains. The road to the west traversed by Zhang Qian subsequently opened up the famous "silk route." Meanwhile, the regions west of China exported thoroughbred horses, grapes, clover and other agricultural products to the Central Plains to enrich the cultural and economic life of people in the Kingdom of the Han Dynasty.

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CSO: 4005/756

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CONDITIONS OF EDUCATION IN YUNNAN REPORTED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 81 pp 1-2

[Report by Jiang Quan /3068 3123], chief of the Department of Education of Yunnan Province: "Extract of a Report on the Conditions of Primary and Secondary School Education, Education for Minority Nationalities and Sparetime Education Throughout the Province and on Views Concerning the Future (Deliberated and Approved by the Standing Committee of the Eighth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress)"

[Text] Members of the Standing Committee:

On behalf of the provincial people's government, I am submitting a report on the conditions of the educational system in our province and on views concerning the future for consideration by the Standing Committee of the provincial People's Congress.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the situation on the educational front in our province, like that of other fronts, has definitely improved, and progress has been made year by year. Its chief manifestations are as follows:

1. The basis and position of the educational system in our province have achieved further development. Despite a number of complications during the 31 years since the founding of the state, and particularly the serious destruction by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the educational system has developed extensively in our province. Colleges, secondary and primary schools have taken shape and a rudimentary system has been formed. Fostering a large group of constructive talents and a large laboring reserve army with a definite cultural level as well as creating a new generation of intellectuals have played a positive role in raising the scientific and cultural level of the people in our province. A contingent of qualified teachers for the educational system who are loyal to the party has been created.
2. Guided by the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the educational front has brought down the "two appraisals," determined that the educational line during the 17 years preceding the "great cultural revolution" was correct, ascertained that the absolute majority of intellectuals are part of the working class and a supportive force of the party, and made clear that it is necessary to rely on teachers in running schools. Following the shift in emphasis of the work of the whole party, the emphasis of the task of the schools gradually shifted to a course centering on teaching to foster the talents of those who are both red and expert for the construction of the four modernizations. This is an important historical turn from disorder to order on the educational front.

3. The position and role of education in the construction of the four modernizations increasingly receiving the attention of the whole party and various levels of the people's government. Since the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee, investment in education in our province has shown a definite increase every year. The province and some prefectures, autonomous prefectures, municipalities and counties even take out part of their funds from local financial reserves and various subsidies allotted by the central government to develop the educational system.

4. The internal readjustment of the educational system has obtained great results. Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, an increasing number of comrades have come to understand the imbalance of proportions and the phenomenon of false swelling created by the unrealistic development of the educational system under the influence of "leftist" mentality. They have therefore done a great deal of work to reform the structure of secondary school education in implementation of the readjustment policy.

However, because of the influence of leftist mentality, particularly the destruction by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the educational system was seriously damaged. Although great progress has been made after several years of recovery and readjustment, the problems remain numerous. At present, the prominent ones are: 1) Due to inadequate arrangement of investment in education for many years, accounts were outstanding every year in the operation of the schools. Moreover, unrealistic development and serious shortage of school buildings of all types and at all levels made conditions in the operation of the schools poor and these conditions are still in evidence. 2) The professional level of a good many of the teachers is not suitable to the demands of teaching. Because of the 10 years of disorder, the educational system was on the brink of collapse. Schools of all types and levels did not have many qualified graduates to replenish the contingent of teachers. As the schools also developed unrealistically, teachers appointed by the local people sharply increased in number, resulting in the fact that among the present contingent of teachers a good many have a professional level that is not suitable to the demands of teaching. The shortage of academic leaders and teachers who do solid work at institutions of higher learning is relatively serious. 3) The structure of secondary school education is unitary and the imbalance of proportions is still very serious. Because of the long-term influence of the "leftist" mentality, the development of the educational system has only been concerned with necessity and not possibility, quantity and not quality. The relationships of vertical and horizontal proportions of various types and levels of schools are in serious imbalance. Their structure is unitary and this causes the serious phenomenon of "false swelling" in the educational system. It will require a lot more effort to resolve this.

In view of these circumstances, the educational work in our province must follow the significant guiding principle put forth by the work conference of the party Central Committee to further realize economic readjustment and political stability, continue to remove the influence of leftist mentality, further implement the eight character policy centering around readjustment, continue to readjust the proportional relationship between economic and educational construction, and gradually increase the investment in economic construction. The educational system must uphold the principles of being practical and realistic, doing what one is capable of, proceeding in an orderly way and step by step, and taking care to achieve practical results. We must correctly handle the relationship between necessity and possibility, quantity and quality, general and key points, being advanced and backward, and develop education in a planned and proportionate way.

I. Concerning Primary and Secondary School Education

1. Strengthen the foundation and gradually popularize primary school education by stages and in groups. Primary school education is the foundation of education as a whole. Premier Zhou pointed out that we must deal with it as a major policy. Last December the party Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Resolution on Several Problems Concerning the Popularization of Primary School Education." Our province should basically strive to popularize primary school education in the 1980's. In view of the great diversity of economic conditions and cultural foundation of various areas in our province, as well as the imbalance of conditions in the development of primary school education in recent years, we must have planning by areas in a realistic and practical way, give guidance to different areas with different demands and carry out the task of popularizing primary school education through planning, by stages and in groups. All areas must popularize primary school education according to plan and comprehensively consider the suitability of locations and forms of operating the schools. We must conform to reality, suit measures to local conditions; we cannot "simplify in one stroke" or "assume only one shape." The reform of the primary school system must proceed from reality through planning and leadership, and we must guard against irrational acts to avoid causing new "false swellings."

2. Secondary school education must be structurally reformed. 1) We must continue to control the development of ordinary senior secondary schools and readjust and consolidate junior secondary schools. While continuing to condense primary schools that provide junior secondary school classes, we should make appropriate readjustment of the geographic distribution of secondary schools. 2) We must positively develop professional and technical education, and in doing so we should adopt a diversity of forms. We can offer professional courses in ordinary senior secondary schools. Cities with a relatively large number of ordinary senior secondary schools can independently operate professional secondary schools or select appropriate ordinary secondary schools to operate as such. 3) We must be earnest about operating secondary vocational schools well. At present, we must emphasize doing a good job of readjusting, reinforcing, consolidating and improving existing schools. All concerned bureaus must strengthen their leadership, conscientiously resolve existing problems in operating schools, earnestly operate older schools well and insure that new schools gradually reach the predetermined level. 4) We must positively operate agricultural secondary schools. This is one of the important ways to foster junior agricultural technical talent for the rural areas. Every county should operate one school and gradually popularize it after gaining some experience. 5) We must do a good job of operating key schools. For the 24 key secondary schools, the 4 key secondary vocational schools and the 2 key teacher-training schools already determined in the province, the educational administrative departments must closely coordinate with the prefectures and units concerned, conscientiously strengthen the leadership, be earnest about operating them well, and truly give play to their exemplary role.

3. To develop primary and secondary school education, it is necessary to fully mobilize the enthusiasm of all sides and implement the principle of "walking on two legs." In popularizing primary education, it is clearly impossible to rely solely on the state to take care of everything; the principle of "walking on two legs" must be upheld in operating schools. For this, it is necessary to fully mobilize the enthusiasm of all sides including production brigades and collectives, factories and mining enterprises. Moreover, we must encourage the masses to raise their own funds to run schools. We must widely popularize and implement the party Central Committee's and the State

Council's "Resolution on Several Problems Concerning the Popularization of Primary School Education." It must be clear that "the operation of schools by rural production brigades should not be viewed as 'egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources' or an unreasonable responsibility" and that "the repair of school buildings and purchase of desks and chairs for rural primary schools should generally be the major responsibility of the production brigades but subsidized by the state, depending on the circumstances." We must fully mobilize the enthusiasm of production brigades for operating schools, improve the conditions in their operation and develop the educational system. The factories and mining enterprises which have operated schools have constituted an extremely important frontline army in developing the educational system in the past. Factories and mining enterprises and their leading departments in charge, in accordance with the spirit of the resolution of the party Central Committee and the State Council, must list problems in the operation of schools on their daily agenda and study them regularly, the leadership must provide a shared special administration, set up educational administrative organs to strengthen the school administration, promptly solve the practical problems in operating the schools and conscientiously do a good job.

4. A contingent of qualified teachers must be built up. Doing a good job in the training of qualified teachers is both an urgent task and a long-term necessity. At present, particular attention must be given to the following: 1) The training of teachers must persevere in the direction of being both red and expert. We must continue to implement the party's policy regarding intellectuals, enhance the social status of teachers, improve their living conditions and mobilize their enthusiasm. All levels of educational administrative departments and school leaders must strengthen the ideological and political work of the teachers, conscientiously uphold the four basic principles, establish the attitude of serving the people wholeheartedly, and be loyal to the party's educational system. 2) We must further raise the professional level of teachers and strengthen their in-service training. First we should train and enhance those teachers who are not well-qualified now but may have prospects after training so that the annual growth rate of the contingent of qualified teachers will gradually increase. We must strengthen and reinforce the structure of teaching and research in the prefectures and counties of the province, and earnestly develop activities in research and teaching. We must combine the work of training teachers and research activities in teaching and raise the professional level of teachers by various means and by adopting a diversity of forms. 3) We must earnestly operate secondary and higher teacher-training schools and institutions and supply qualified teachers to primary and secondary schools. 4) After various systems of job responsibility in production were implemented in the rural areas, contingents of teachers appointed by the local people wandered around because payment and grain ration were not provided. We must resolutely implement the various provisions of the report transmitted to the provincial department of education by the provincial government last year.

5. There must be all-round implementation of the party's educational policy, and the problems in strengthening the ideological and political work of primary and secondary school students must be confronted. Primary and secondary schools are an important front for fostering and educating youths. Strengthening the ideological and moral education of primary and secondary school students is an extremely urgent task at present. All levels of education departments and schools must further correct the ideology in education, implement the educational policy of developing students in an all-round way--morally, intellectually and physically; persevere in the direction of being both red and expert; persevere in fostering all the students; overcome and

correct the tendency to foster only a minority while ignoring the majority of students as well as the tendency to emphasize only intellectual development and cultural knowledge and studies while ignoring moral and physical development. We must educate the students in the four basic principles so that they will have rudimentary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, lofty ideals, noble sentiments, and a correct outlook on life, so that they will be determined to be a new generation with ideals, morality, knowledge and sound bodies.

II. Concerning the Education of Minority Nationalities

The education of minority nationalities has a particularly important place in our province. It is of strategic significance to earnestly strengthen national unity, reinforce frontier defense and construct the four modernizations. To help minority nationalities, the means that will do most for them in the long run is helping them to develop their educational system and foster their talent. If we deviate from educating the minority nationalities we cannot talk about popularizing education in our province. In the past 31 years there has been great development in the system of educating minority nationalities in our province. We have fostered a large group of cadres of minority nationalities and all kinds of constructive talent, and we have initially built a contingent of teachers of minority nationalities loyal to the party's educational undertaking.

However, in these 31 years the educational system of the minority nationalities in our province has experienced many complications, of which the destruction of the entire education of minority nationalities created by the 10 years of disaster is the most serious. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the Third Plenum of the party Central Committee, under the guidance of the correct political and ideological lines, the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government has further strengthened the leadership for the education of minority nationalities and adopted a series of effective measures, such as doing the utmost in educational funding. For many years funding for the eight autonomous prefectures of minority nationalities has been over 40 percent of that for ordinary education in the whole province, exceeding the funding level of prefectures in general. Starting in 1975 eight teacher-training schools for minority nationalities have been revived and set up in eight prefectures and autonomous prefectures at a total basic construction investment of over 3 million yuan. After an assessment was made, teachers appointed by the local people in 35 border counties were turned into public teachers to the extent possible (some of them also made the change in extremely cold and poor mountainous areas inland). Appropriate arrangements were made for those who could not make the change. In 2 years, 1979 and 1980, over 20,400 people made the change. Last year the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government decided that an annual amount of 5.5 million yuan would be transferred from local finances at the provincial level to operate 19 secondary and 21 primary boarding schools for minority nationalities. They are now actively under construction and are striving for student recruitment this fall. Last year the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government decided to expand the institutes of minority nationalities. By 1985 the number of undergraduate, preparatory and cadre-training students will reach 3,000. In recruiting students for colleges and secondary vocational schools, during the last several years there has been a continuous improvement in the ways to care for the students so that the proportion of students of minority nationalities in the total enrollment continues to increase. Last year Yunnan University, the Kunming

Engineering College, the Kunming Teacher Training College and the Yunnan Chinese Medical College offered four classes for minority nationalities and recruited students from nationalities along the borders. Five secondary vocational schools also operated such classes and recruited students of minority nationalities. For the last 2 years, in accordance with the will of various minority nationalities, the written languages of the Dai, Xitai, Jingpo, Lisu, Lahu, Wa and Zang nationalities have been taught in the concerned prefectures and are listed in the teaching program for primary schools. Various concerned prefectures have already organized the translation and editing of teaching materials for the written languages of nationalities and these will be published and distributed by the provincial publishing house of minority nationalities.

In short, since the Third Plenum of the party Central Committee the most basic changes in the educational work among minority nationalities in our province have been a greater understanding of the damage inflicted on the educational system of minority nationalities by the mistakes of the "left" as well as having corrected the ideological line. However, some problems still exist in the education of minority nationalities which must be stressed and resolved. In accordance with the spirit of the recently convened work conference on the education of minority nationalities as well as the experience and lessons of the last 30 years, we must treat the major policy of carrying out further economic readjustment and political stability put forth by the work conference of the party Central Committee as the central guiding ideology in dealing with the educational work of minority nationalities in our province. We must earnestly implement the party's policy on minority nationalities, continue to remove the influence of "leftist" mentality, and conscientiously respect and fully safeguard the right to national equality and autonomy of minority nationalities in cultural education. In the future the development of education for minority nationalities in our province requires that we stress doing well in the following tasks:

1. To strengthen the education of minority nationalities, it is most important to conscientiously pay close attention to primary and secondary school education in accordance with the different conditions of the minority nationalities. In particular, we must pay close attention to the foundation of primary school education in a down-to-earth manner. It is necessary to implement the party Central Committee's and the State Council's "Resolution on Several Problems Concerning the Popularization of Primary School Education" in earnest, pay close attention to treating the popularization of primary school education in prefectures of minority nationalities as a strategic task. All prefectures and autonomous prefectures should formulate feasible plans according to their real conditions and implement them step by step. At present each county must appropriately concentrate its manpower, material and financial resources to operate one or two primary schools for minority nationalities. Each commune should operate a central and perfect primary school, strive to increase the quality of teaching and foster a group of graduates who pass the mark.

2. We must continue to adopt special measures to foster the talents of minority nationalities. The basic way to resolve this problem is to increase the quality of teaching at the primary and secondary schools in prefectures of minority nationalities. In order to do this, for a long time we should give emphasis to doing a good job of operating the 40 primary and secondary schools for minority nationalities funded by the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government as well as the group of primary and secondary boarding schools for minority nationalities locally funded by some prefectures, autonomous prefectures and counties. Along with recruiting

students to schools of higher education, classes for minority nationalities should be set up at these schools and the practice should be continued of differentiating candidates from different prefectures and nationalities as well as giving them preferential admittance and admittance at lower passing marks under conditions equivalent to those of candidates of Han nationality. Those classes which have already started should be earnestly run well. Other institutions of higher education directly under the province must also actively create the conditions to set up higher education classes for minority nationalities. The industrial, agricultural, medical and financial secondary vocational schools of the eight autonomous and border prefectures of minority nationalities should actively create the conditions for setting up classes for minority nationalities, lower the admittance passing mark and recruit students of minority nationalities which are relatively backward economically and culturally.

3. We must strive to do well in teacher-training education among minority nationalities and strengthen the building of a contingent of qualified teachers. There are few teachers of minority nationalities among primary and secondary school teachers, which is not suitable for the development of education of minority nationalities. We must actively foster indigenous teachers of minority nationalities. All prefectures and autonomous prefectures must strive to do a good job of operating the eight teacher-training schools for minority nationalities. Their training should center around recruiting students of minority nationalities, and teachers from nationalities in the locale should be fostered as much as possible. After graduation they should return to teach in their own prefectures. Training schools set up by the various autonomous prefectures and counties for minority nationalities must earnestly pay attention to the training of in-service teachers of minority nationalities.

4. We must further restore and strengthen the teaching of the language of minority nationalities and build up the written teaching materials. This is an important manifestation of the realization of cultural equality among the nationalities and an important manifestation of the implementation of the party's policy on minority nationalities in the realm of education. We must be resolute in overcoming the various errors and tendencies in treating the problems in teaching the languages of minority nationalities. At present, all concerned departments must make a concerted effort and strengthen the leadership for the translation, editing and publishing of written teaching materials. Concerned prefectures and autonomous prefectures must speedily gather together translation and editing staff workers, do a good job in their work, and improve the quality of translating and editing teaching materials.

5. In the autonomous areas of the minority nationalities, we must safeguard their right to autonomy in the educational system. In the future in the autonomous areas and regions of minority nationalities, we must respect their right to autonomy in education in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and the law. The development of the educational system of minority nationalities under the guidance of the unified educational policy and principles of the state and province, such as the planning for popularizing primary school education, the system of school administration, the forms of operating the schools, the teaching materials, the school system, the appointment and recruitment of teachers, and the management and use of funds, should all be determined by the autonomous prefectures and counties in accordance with actual conditions.

6. We must give full play to the benefits of educational funds and, wherever possible, squeeze out a little more money to develop the educational system of minority nationalities. In view of the temporary difficulties of the national economy and the backwardness in the education of minority nationalities, we believe that educational funds normally distributed to the autonomous prefectures and counties by the state for the educational system must be safeguarded and cannot be seized by any one or any unit. At the same time, a considerable portion of the various subsidies from the party Central Committee and the State Council should be used in support of the development of the educational system of minority nationalities. Furthermore, the provincial Department of Education should set up a bureau for the education of minority nationalities. All concerned prefectures, autonomous prefectures and counties should set up corresponding administrative organs and conscientiously administer the education of minority nationalities.

III. Concerning Sparetime Education of Workers and Peasants

Sparetime education for workers and peasants was devastated during the period of the "cultural revolution" and did not recover and develop until after the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly in the last 2 years. The work to eliminate illiteracy has been extensively launched in the rural areas. According to incomplete statistics, over 6,000 literacy classes are in operation in the entire province with an enrollment over 150,000. It is estimated that by this winter and next spring, tens of thousands of production brigade cadres at the grass-roots level as well as youths will no longer be illiterate. In cities and towns, various sparetime cultural, primary and secondary sparetime technical training classes are being held and evening colleges, correspondence colleges and television colleges are being set up. They are welcomed by the broad masses of rural youth, staff workers on the job and youths looking for employment. They have played a positive role in promoting greater economic readjustment and safeguarding greater political stability. The desire of youths to seek knowledge is extremely strong at present, and they urgently demand the growth of sparetime education. For some time in the future, the task of sparetime education for workers and peasants will be to strive for the elimination of illiteracy in youths among workers and peasants; positively develop various cultural, professional and technical tutorial schools; appropriately operate higher and secondary vocational education; and raise the cultural, scientific and technical levels of the broad masses of peasants and staff workers on the job. We must pay close attention to emphasizing the elimination of illiteracy and actively develop the cultural and technical education of the peasants; actively develop cultural and technical tutorial schools for staff workers; appropriately develop higher education for staff workers; speed up preparations and promptly establish a self-study examination system for higher education in our province.

Members of the Standing Committee, how the development of the educational system turns out is the key to the success of the four modernizations. This is also an important matter that benefits future generations. It is hoped that people from all nationalities and all sides will mobilize themselves, give emphasis, concern and support to education, jointly strive to increase the scientific and cultural levels of the Chinese nation, foster a new socialist generation, and train a large number of talented people for the construction of the four modernizations!

(The provincial people's government has already been instructed by the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress to transmit and issue department chief Jiang Quan's report for implementation.)

PARTY AND STATE

BAI HUA INCIDENT DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] No. 45, 1 Jul 81 p 11-13

[Article by Cai Xin [5591 2450]: "A Look at the Chinese Communist Political Situation in Light of the Bai Hua Incident"]

[Text] The Bai Hua incident which occurred on the eve of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee is over. The Sixth Plenum has also concluded. Do China's literary world and the Chinese communists correctly understand the Bai Hua incident? Have they been able to learn a political lesson from the complicated affair?

Why Two Similar Turns to the "Left"

Since 1979 when the Chinese communists established the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee which called for looking forward in unity and emancipation of the mind, and which shifted the focal point of work to realizing the economic construction of the four modernizations (and no longer carry out political campaigns), they have committed two rather serious leftist mistakes. These two mistakes had a number of striking similarities. The only difference was that the first was not noted in timely fashion and has still not been corrected, while the second was quickly corrected.

March 1979

At the beginning of 1979, with the encouragement of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the people of the entire nation were hastening to emancipate their minds. Spontaneous debate about the merits and demerits of Mao Zedong, a question which for 30 years no one had dared to touch, had already begun. This put very real pressure on the Chinese communists. Deng Xiaoping knew very well that evaluating Mao was a sensitive and delicate matter. For this reason he once told an American reporter that the problem of evaluating Mao could not be solved by this generation, but must be given over to the following generation. But, whether we speak of society as a whole or of the party, the evaluation of Mao did not cease because of what Deng Xiaoping said. In March, at a Theory and Ideology conference in Beijing, the Chinese communists actually carried on a great debate concerning the evaluation of Mao. At that time there were three problems in society absorbing the attention of the top levels of the Chinese communist leadership: the

first was that some youths were in blind pursuit of a Western lifestyle; the second was that some young women were sleeping with foreign visitors, which was harmful to "national prestige;" and the third was the intense debate about the Xidan democracy wall, with some people calling for more and greater democracy. Against this background, Deng Xiaoping made a report at the Great Hall of the People by way of summarizing the conference on theory and ideology emphasized the "Four Maintains." After that the political situation took a 180 degree turn with the advent of the Wei Jingsheng and the Zhuan Yuehua incidents. These were followed by the closing of the Xidan democracy wall and the abolition of the "Four Greats" [great contending, blooming, big character posters, and debate--the four methods of carrying out "struggle by reasoning"].

December 1980

In August of 1980 the Central Committee of the CCP opened an enlarged session of the Politburo which was followed by the third session of the Fifth People's Congress. If we say that the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was convened for the purpose of solving the problem of "emancipation of the mind," then this meeting of the Politburo can be said to have been held for the purpose of solving the problem of "system reform." And these two meetings have played similar decisive roles.

But after only three months had passed, in December of 1980, the Chinese communists held a Central Committee Work Conference at which a report emphasizing an attack on "those holding opinions different from the government" was given. The political situation again turned to the "left." Within the party, the background against which this trend to the left occurred was the 4,000 man congress which had just finished discussing the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," and which, it is said, had just begun to have some new developments in their discussion of the "evaluation of Mao;" outside of the party, the background was, on the one hand, student agitation (especially their participation in local elections) and, on the other hand, the reported increase in activity of "people's publications." The direct result of this turn to the left was to uniformly and indiscriminately make all "people's publications" illegal and to carry out suppression of the relatively more ideologically active literary world, to the extent of taking a knife to Bai Hua and his work, "Bitter Love."

Intricate Political Storms

Two "Instigators" of Political Instability

These two relatively serious relapses of the Politburo both occurred within three months of the adoption of the first big reform policy and both occurred during the critical time when the "evaluation of Mao" was being carried forward. In both cases certain "negative phenomena" (or elements "harmful to stability and unity" were latched onto and written up in long articles, and in both cases the most prestigious revolutionary faction of the entire nation appeared to turn things to the "left." This is extremely surprising and puzzling.

The Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee made it quite clear that there would be no more political campaigns in the future, but these two turns to the left were carried out swiftly and with great determination throughout the entire country. Furthermore, in investigating the persons and matters involved (including party members)--especially in the Bai Hua incident--from the outset they smack of "cultural revolutions" which was to be "stirred up every seven or eight years." The Chinese communists have clearly stressed the legal system, the "Three Nots" [do not recognize, support, or join any anti-revolutionary organization], and opposition to the "left," but the two turns to the left did not accord with the spirit of the law, violated the "Three Nots," and in each case the opposition was all "opposition to the 'right'." Why should this be?

Having experienced these two turns to the "left," we have discovered that the elements harmful to stability and unity came from two areas. The first was the ideological tide of anarchism rising among some youths who seek to profit from chaos; the other was the ideological tide among leading cadres who fear there will be no more political campaigns from which they can profit. Of these two ideological tides, one arises within society and one arises within the party, but the Chinese communists continue to place excessive emphasis on the former and to neglect the latter. In fact, however, the danger from the latter far exceeds that from the former.

The Bai Hua Incident and the Chinese Political Situation

A Smell of Gunpowder From The "Cultural Revolution"

The latest turn to the "left" began with certain expressed attitudes of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang. Later, certain persons in Shanghai literary circles who were unhappy with the suppression exerted by Chen Yi (head of the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee) reported the situation to Deng Yingchao in Beijing. Deng Yingchao referred the situation to Hu Yaobang who only then began to monitor it. It was just at this time that "Bitter Love" was made into the movie "Sun and Man" and shown to the upper echelon of the military and at the Central Party School. The criticism surrounding "Bitter Love" began brewing among these two groups. At that time, most of those studying at the Central Party School were heads of propaganda departments or of cultural departments of various provinces and municipalities. They formed strong opinions about this picture, believing it to be a poisonous weed that was anti-party and anti-socialist. They organized their opinions and reported them to the Central Committee of the party. After seeing them, Hu Yaobang offered his own remarks critical of them, the major thrust of which was: we should not lightly attack others and saddle them with labels, and if a work has flaws, then we should help to revise it, etc. The motion picture world, and even the vast majority of leading figures in literary circles (such as Zhou Yang and Xia Yan, et al.) also held this view. In the military, some high ranking officers, especially several deputy chiefs of the general staff of the General Staff Department maintained a negative attitude toward this picture, as did the heads of the propaganda departments at the Party School. They sent a joint letter to Wei Guoching, the director of the Political Department of the PLA, requesting that he express support for them. A certain deputy chief of the general staff named Hu raised the idea of openly criticizing "Bitter Love" in the newspaper.

Even if Hu Yaobang had agreed beforehand, JIEFANG JUNBAO [LIBERATION ARMY NEWS] still launched a surprise attack, and took the lead in carrying out criticism of Bai Hua and his script, "Bitter Love." Moreover, it invoked a most startling magic weapon, the "Four Basic Principles." This was the big April 20 article, "The Four Basic Principles May Not Be Violated," which was presented in the name of a guest critic. The day before the article appeared, they secretly sent it to the Central People's Broadcast Station for broadcast, saying that it would be important news in the papers the next day. The following day at 6:30 in the morning the radio program "Summary of News and the Newspapers" broadcast it to the entire nation. Everyone heard the announcer that day speaking in the same tones as in the "Great Criticism Articles" broadcast during the "cultural revolution." It carried the same smell of gunpowder as at the start of the "cultural revolution." Because of this, it produced a very negative reaction throughout the nation.

"Two Newspapers and a Journal" and a "Yao II"

After the JIEFANG JUNBAO article came out, it met with opposition from all sides. Some persons even called the editors saying: "I hear that the writer of your guest critic article was Yao Wenyan, is that right?" Even though PEOPLE'S DAILY received daily calls from the General Political Department of the PLA requesting that they reprint the article, it ignored them and neither reprinted the article nor expressed an opinion. Because of this, punitive censure such as that carried out by the "two newspapers and one journal" [the three chief party organs] which represented the party, the government and the military of the entire nation during the "cultural revolution" period did not materialize.

But, CONTEMPORARY REPORT, a magazine published in Beijing, rushed to stir up excitement by hurriedly putting out a supplement on April 23 containing two critical articles, "What kind of 'Movie Script' is This?" credited to the editor-in-chief, Huang Gang, and "The Truth About 'Bitter Love,' Inviting Criticism." Shanghai's WENXUE BAO [LITERARY NEWS] which is controlled by Chen Yi also "followed the situation closely," and JIEFANG JUNBAO and CONTEMPORARY REPORT coordinated their actions in the north and the south to give great play to the matter. Because of this, the masses called these the "two newspapers and one journal" and referred to the axis formed by the deeply buried guest critic, Liu Baiyu, along with Chen Yi and Huang Gang as the "triple alliance." They further referred to Huang Gang who wrote under his own name as the "Yao Wenyan II."

The only difference between this time and the first "cultural revolution" was that this time the entire nation did not respond as clouds piling up before the wind to the "clarion call" of the "two newspapers and one journal," and the "call to arms" by "Yao II" was not prologue to a "second cultural revolution." Quite the contrary, the masses for once stood up spontaneously and resisted this "revolution." Two hundred students at Beijing University publicly demanded that Huang Gang come forth and debate the matter, but "Yao II", unlike the "Yao I", didn't dare feign "righteous airs," and so didn't dare respond to the challenge. Shanghai's WEN HUI BAO and SHANGHAI WENYI also openly resisted Chen Yi's orders and from beginning to end refused to reprint the article of the guest critic of the JIEFANG JUNBAO. In spite of this, the department heads who had studied at the Central Party School still demonstrated their true "political activist" qualities by getting more than 20 odd newspapers throughout the nation (in 20 odd provinces) to reprint the JIEFANG JUNBAO article.

A Spear Aimed at Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping

People cannot help asking: when looked at through the eyes of the left, there are many works around that are more "anti-party and anti-socialism" than "Bitter Love." So why insist on criticizing "Bitter Love?" When it is clearly a problem of the recently filmed movie, "Sun and Man," why insist on only criticizing the script of "Bitter Love," which was put out in 1979? Since the original script was the work of both Bai Hua and Peng Ning, and "Sun and Man" was directed by Peng Ning, why criticize only Bai Hua and not Peng Ning?

It is now quite clear that the matter of criticizing Bai Hua is not only Bai Hua's personal problem or a literary problem, but is also a political conspiracy. It is precisely because the script of "Bitter Love" came out in 1979 that it is criticized and "Sun and Man" is not; it is precisely because Peng Ning participated in it that they only criticize Bai Hua and not Peng Ning. Why? The reason is that Peng Ning and Hu Yaobang are personally very close, and at the time that the "Bitter Love," script was put out in 1979, Hu Yaobang was directing the work of the Central Propaganda Department. If you could bring about the downfall of "Bitter Live," then Peng Ning and "Sun and Man" could fall of their own accord; if you could bring about the downfall of "Bitter Love," then you could discredit the literary record of 1979 (numerous "problem pieces" came out in 1979), and this would naturally involve the question of Hu Yaobang's responsibility. If Hu Yaobang had to take responsibility, the Deng Xiaoping could not escape responsibility. This then was the "ulterior motive" of those criticizing "Bitter Love." Criticizing "Bitter Love" was their "sneak attack." The criticism of Liu Xiaoqi also began as a criticism of Wu Han's "Hai Rui Dismissed From Office."

The Lesson for the Chinese Communists

Why should the Bai Hua incident occur on the eve of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee? This was another goal of the critics who hoped to exert pressure on the Sixth Plenum by means of the "campaign of criticism," and to cause the plenum to proceed in accordance with their wishes. That there should be such influences at work is not at all helpful to the Chinese communists in carrying out political and economic reforms. So just what lesson did the Chinese communists learn from the Bai Hua incident?

A Literary Beginning and a Literary End

Once the bell is tied around the tiger's neck, you still need someone to remove it. As we see it, the Bai Hua incident was brought about by a turn to the left on the part of leading figures of the reformist faction. Consequently, it was corrected by their "turn to the 'right'." On the one hand they allowed Zhou Yang, Xia Yen, Zhang Guangnian, and other giants of the literary world to come forth and directly confront the JIEFANG JUNBAO, and to use various methods (including talking to outsiders) to eliminate the evil influence of the army paper; and on the other hand they demanded the following in the name of the Central Propaganda Department: 1) in the future, everyone is to carry out criticism in their own names (that is to say that no one can use such appellations "guest critic" to intimidate people); 2) when an article is printed by a certain paper, there is no need for the others

to vie with each other to reprint it, (that is to say that no one may launch a "campaign" and suggest that "public opinion is uniform"); and 3) no one can adopt methods of political campaigns or disguised political campaigns (actually referring to the army newspaper) to handle literary questions. At the same time they also allowed the literary world to give Bai Hua's work, "The Tide of Spring is In Sight," one of the new poetry awards. Hu Yaobang allowed this and strove to save the literary situation which the "triple alliance" (the "two newspapers and one journal") had disrupted.

The results of the Bai Hua incident make it completely clear that the ability of the Chinese people, both those within the country and those overseas, to distinguish truth and falsity has already improved. Their courage to speak boldly in defense of justice has already been heightened. And their thinking in opposition to the "left" has already advanced. They have coalesced into a strong force with which to be reckoned.

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